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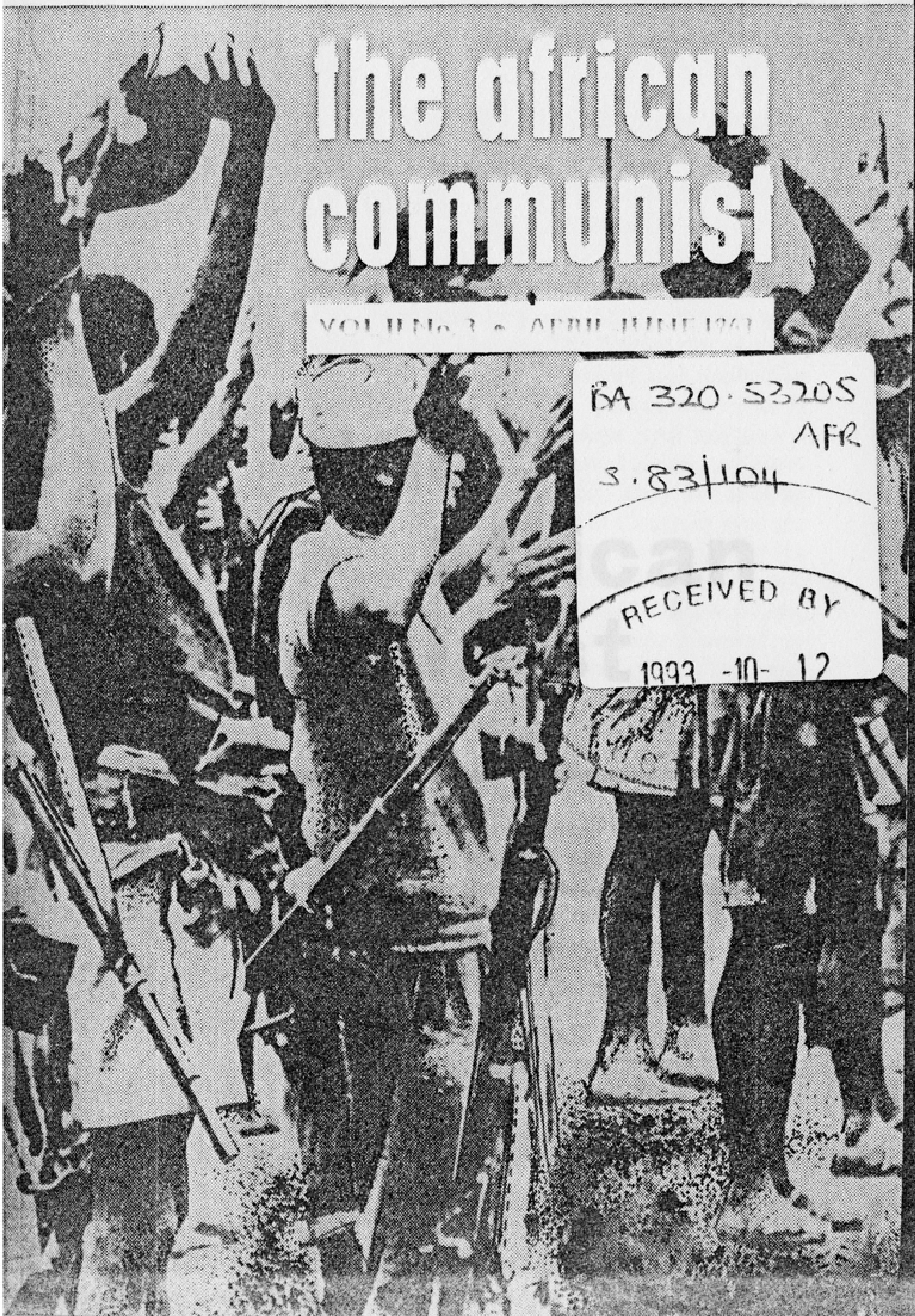

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THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

A Statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

THINGS ARE COMING to a head in South Africa. We are very fast coming to a big crisis in our history. The Nationalist government is tightening the screws and driving apartheid and oppression to the limits of the people's endurance. The people are fighting back. As, one after another, the Government stops legal and peaceful channels of protest and resistance the oppressed masses are turning to methods that are illegal and non-peaceful. They are looking to illegal organisations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common. Sometimes, as in the case of the operations of Umkonto We Sizwe, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nation-wide level. But very often, as hunger, persecution and police terror drive one section of the people after another to desperation, we find unplanned, spontaneous acts of resistance and retaliation taking place on a local level, and the development of bodies like 'Poqo' with its outlook of blind revenge on Whites.

Former leaders of the break-away Pan-Africanist Congress now living in exile, such as P. Leballo in his recent notorious Maseru speech, have attempted to claim the 'Poqo' movement as a part of their organisation. This claim is made for the purpose of boosting the fallen prestige of P.A.C., which no longer exists as an organised force in South Africa itself. It does not bear serious examination. P.A.C. may well have given rise to Poqo, by spreading the concept that spontaneous outbursts of people's violence are a suitable means of struggle, and by whipping up anti-white chauvinism amongst African patriots. But having produced the atmosphere in which Poqo has grown, neither P.A.C. nor anyone else can claim to control or to lead it. For Poqo is, in essence, an uncontrolled and violent reaction to oppression, not an organised political movement with an ideology and long term policy accepted by all its adherents. Outbreaks ascribed to Poqo, such as those at Paarl and the Bashee River, were not planned by P.A.C. or any other national organisation: they were semi-spontaneous reactions of men oppressed beyond endurance, inspired to action by rudimentary political aims of the Poqo movement.

Leballo's wild claims of '150,000 members' preparing for 'imminent revolution' which were designed to terrify ill-informed whites, have provided the Nationalist government with the very pretext they have been seeking with which to justify new extreme measures of repression and militarisation. Irresponsible P.A.C. talk has been grist to the Nationalist government's mill.

The reaction of the Nationalist Government is two-fold. On the one hand it steps up and makes harsher its innumerable acts of tyranny and oppression. On the other it is openly preparing to crush by force the resistance and rebellion which these acts must inevitably call forth.

There is no freedom of criticism, of organisation, of speech and meetings, of the press. Every spark that still remains after fifteen years of Nationalist rule is vigorously stamped out. The army and the police force are being rapidly expanded and merged with one another. A drive is being made to panic the entire White population and enrol all its adult members into some sort or other of police and military part-time units. A wild and lying propaganda is spread in which every sort of opposition or protest to the Nationalists—ranging from spontaneous 'Poqo'-type outbreaks, to the dignified protests of the Liberals and the Black Sash—are labelled as 'Communism' and subjected to savage penalties. Leaders or former leaders of national liberation, trade union and other democratic movements are subjected without trial or charge to house-arrests and a wide variety of other administrative penalties, prohibitions and bans.

Verwoerd and Vorster are steadily turning the country into an armed camp: ruled by decree and martial law. They are heading for civil war.

Without doubt these ruthless measures of the ruling class, born of panic and desperation, have taken a heavy toll of all who, in the past, have had the courage to stand up publicly for the people's rights. They have greatly narrowed any hope of a peaceful change to a free South Africa. They have succeeded in intimidating some opponents of the Nationalists and causing them to waver in their faith in the victory of the people over the oppressors.

But the great mass of our people, particularly the African workers and peasants, are not intimidated. They are determined to win their freedom, whatever it may cost. And they know that freedom will be won. The White minority dictatorship cannot last. Whether it is looked at in relation to the rest of Africa and the outside world, or in relation to the balance of long-term forces in South Africa itself, the position of the Verwoerd government is hopeless.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

For a number of years the African National Congress and its allies have conducted a sustained and tireless campaign to expose the facts about apartheid to the outside world and to call for solidarity with the freedom struggle of the South African people. An important milestone in this campaign was the decision taken by the last General Assembly, by a majority of more than two-thirds, requesting member-states to boycott and isolate the Verwoerd regime in view of its persistent and shameless violations of the UN Charter. The Security Council was also asked to consider the expulsion of South Africa.

The Nationalist government makes light of these weighty decisions and claims they will never be put into effect. They are relying on the big financial interests in the imperialist countries with heavy stakes in South Africa. But, in the long run, these interests cannot prevail over the anger and indignation felt by the vast Afro-Asian, socialist and democratic majority of mankind against the outrages of this Nazi white supremacy regime.

It is true that, as yet, the General Assembly resolution, the Afro-Asian resolutions on the boycott of South Africa and other important decisions have not, been treated with proper respect by all states and governments. Even countries which supported these decisions, including some African, Asian and socialist countries, have themselves failed to carry them out consistently.

However, it would be wrong to think that because of these failings the decisions themselves are "unworkable" or cannot be made effective. The same pressures which led to the decisions being taken will, sooner or later, lead to fully practical steps to carry them into effect. In one field after another, whether in diplomacy, commerce, sport or culture, world opinion is challenging South African apartheid and inflicting defeat after defeat on this hateful concept. The movement for solidarity with the people of our country is a sustained and protracted campaign. In this campaign the decision of

the General Assembly marks an historic turning point from which further great advances can and will be made.

Looked at from the viewpoint of the historical process, the South African regime is steadily and swiftly being driven into a position of isolation, in which the armaments, capital, and other forms of material and moral support which sustain it from abroad will one after another be cut short.

THE BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN

Even more important, inside South Africa itself—in spite of the massive-appearing and ever-growing state machine of domination and repression—the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of the people and their liberation forces, and against the oppressing minority.

A minority, however heavily armed, cannot prevail over the great majority of the people when the majority is organised, determined and clear in its purpose. Every new act of tyranny and oppression by the government calls forth acts of revolutionary protest and resistance by the masses. Often such acts may be unplanned, desperate and unsuccessful. They may be answered by heavy and costly reprisals. But in the process the forces of liberation are being forged. They are becoming more steeled in their determination. They are building effective and indestructible organisations. They are achieving ever greater clarity of purpose and direction.

The violent clashes which have occurred in the Cape and elsewhere are signs of the growing revolutionary upheaval in our country. The so-called 'Poqo' operations are a reaction against unendurable oppression, and one cannot doubt the courage and patriotic feelings of those who took part in such actions as the storming of police stations. But at the same time many of these acts show negative and even harmful features. Planned badly, or not at all, they have the nature of spontaneous outbursts: acts of desperation not acts of responsible and thoughtful revolutionaries. They reflect grave political backwardness, their only basis often being a crude, terroristic policy of hitting back and indiscriminate reprisals against the white community. Such a policy is far removed from the outlook of the advanced elements of the African people, as it has been formed in the course of a long experience of struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress, the trade unions and the Communist Party. At the same time, these acts of desperate retaliation have a positive side, although they cannot succeed in their objectives and although they involve heavy reprisals, setbacks and temporary defeats.

For from these defeats the people are drawing the conclusion, not that resistance is futile, but that it should be planned, purposeful and principled. The leaders of the African liberation movement have not merely taken a negative or critical attitude towards the 'Poqo' type outbreaks. They have acknowledged that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use. Indeed it is notable that at the recent Moshi Afro-Asian Conference in Tanganyika, a spokesman of the African National Congress publicly announced support for and Congress connection with the fighting organisation, Umkonto We Sizwe.

Such statements, and the increasing activities of Umkonto itself, show that the African people and their leaders are rapidly absorbing the lessons of the abortive 'Poqo' outbreaks: that they understand the duty of experienced and responsible leaders. They do not in any way seek to dampen or discourage the revolutionary spirit abroad among the youth, the workers and peasants and the oppressed people generally. Instead they aim to harness that spirit, not to reckless adventures, but to effective, planned action. Only such a dynamic and militant policy can avoid the repetition of fruitless acts of violence, instigated by desperate organisations of the 'Poqo' type, or even provoked by the authorities, and involving unnecessary bloodshed, reprisals and setbacks.

Another important lesson which the oppressed people are fast learning from the present crucial phase of our history is that every attempt to redress or rectify a local or partial grievance is necessarily connected with, and can only be won by, the defeat of the Nationalist government itself, and the ending of White minority rule. Where every protest and every demand is met merely by bloody suppression by the state, it becomes clear to one section of the people after another that the state itself is the obstacle to any sort of advance, and that no sort of happy or tolerable future is possible without the removal of this tyrannical state and its replacement by one which embodies the will of the majority of the people.

Does this mean that it is useless to campaign on any sort of local issue or partial grievance, and that the time has come to forget about such immediate questions and speak only in general terms of freedom? No: that would be wrong: such a conclusion could only be reached by parlour-politicians who live in isolation from the people and their daily needs and problems. Real liberation leaders who are close to and part of the masses cannot escape their duty to take part in their everyday struggles for higher wages, against pass laws, group areas and mass evictions, against Bantu Authorities and Bantustans, whether these struggles are on a local or a national scale.

But it does mean that in future every local struggle will more and more tend to broaden out into a nation-wide struggle. It means that where the state and its police and military attempt to suppress strikes and demonstrations by force and violence the people are more and more going to be organised and prepared to defend themselves and strike back. It means that each campaign on a specific issue, whether it be the crucial struggle against the Government's newest 'Bantu' laws: the workers' demand for a living wage: the peasants' struggle for land and against Bantustans will inevitably develop into a struggle for state power, for the right of the people of our country to govern the country according to the principle 'One man, one vote'.

The best guarantee of the speedy victory of the South African revolution is that the seasoned and devoted leaders of the most representative and influential liberation organisation, the African National Congress, have grasped the essentials of this situation and courageously advanced a correct policy. It is now their historic task and responsibility—despite all the difficulties and dangers of work under illegal conditions and Nationalist terror—to convey this policy to the people and organise them in action to carry it out. In this hard task the A.N.C. can count, as in the past, on the unqualified support of our Party and all its members.

It is within the general framework of this outline that certain specific and critical problems should now be considered.

THE PASS LAWS—A NEW ROUND OF STRUGGLE

The pass laws have always been a weapon in the hands of the white colonialist state to oppress and exploit the African people. But the government is now intensifying and worsening the pass system in a way which changes its character. Pass laws have become much more than a source of constant irritation and humiliation, leading to summary arrests, raids and fines. In the Western Cape the pass laws are being used to evict Africans forcibly from the entire area and to return them to starvation in the Reserves. The government openly states that its aim is to close the entire Western Cape to Africans. And this is just a beginning. It is the intention to follow out the same aim, area by area, throughout the country. It is for this purpose that the pass laws have been extended to apply to African women, more and more of whom are being endorsed out of urban areas. The latest 'Bantu' legislation recently introduced in parliament makes the aim clear. It is to turn all Africans into 'foreigners' in the 'white' areas—that is the main urban and industrial centres of South Africa. Here, Africans are to be deprived of all rights of residence, labour and family life. All Africans are to be turned into migrant labourers, forced by hunger from the crowded, starving Bantustans to temporary jobs under compound and contract conditions in 'White South Africa'.

The working out of this policy has already led to the desperation and bitterness of the Africans in the Western Cape. It will do so everywhere. The fight against pass laws is not a 'Western Cape' issue alone. It is a basis for nation-wide political action and resistance. In present conditions this cannot be just a repetition of previous anti-pass campaigns aimed at the curtailment or abolition of pass laws. To-day the fight against pass laws has become a fight for the right to live and work in that 87 per cent of our country which is arrogantly claimed as 'White South Africa'. It is a fight against deportation to Bantustans and the seizure of the rest of the country. It is a fight for citizenship, for land and freedom.

Events are forcing the people into struggle against the pass laws. They cannot do other than resist. But unless the people see this resistance as a whole, as an inseparable part of the general struggle of the oppressed people for freedom, serious mistakes may be made. Even though conditions are desperate, responsible leaders cannot merely follow the policies of desperate and impatient men who grow reckless and clamour for any sort of action regardless of the consequences. Serious revolutionaries cannot engage in desperate adventures without thought to the future.

The new round of struggles against the pass laws poses most acute problems for the people and their leaders: but all these problems can be overcome if they act in a way that is both militant and principled, without yielding to desperation tactics or opportunistic concessions to backward elements.

Consider the position where, faced with intolerable pressures by the application of the pass laws, the African people of some area decide upon mass pass burning followed by a local general strike. Clearly, if they are ready for such action, militant leaders cannot and should not restrain the people. It would be wrong and in present conditions unrealistic to tell them to wait for some future 'national day of action' which may never materialise. Action must be taken on local initiative when and where the masses are ready to respond: their action will inspire the people elsewhere and draw them into action too.

But one cannot overlook that any action anywhere is almost certain to be answered by savage reprisals from the government, the police and the military. Unless alternative proposals are adopted and prepared for, such reprisals could lead to blind rioting and to indiscriminate, 'Poqo'-style attacks on white civilians and property. But such an outcome cannot be regarded with approval or favour by African patriots dedicated to the cause of freedom. Riots and pogroms can only lead to massive state retaliation, a serious political set-back for our cause and its prestige at home and abroad and a crushing defeat of the people. Freedom fighters must not flirt with such ideas or remain cowardly silent in the face of them. That way lies disaster for our people and the cause of South African freedom.

Revolutionaries fight against and oppose such ideas and tactics, not because they are violent, but because they are wrong: because they are unprincipled because they aim only to produce terror for the sake of terror. The people of this country will not be roused to struggle by such actions, which hold out no prospect of the overthrow of the state of oppression but only prospects of wide-scale blood-letting. Instead the people will be driven into inactivity.

The answer to government terror is not wild rioting, but organised and planned mass self-defence and resistance. Police and military violence against peaceful pass-burners or strikers cannot succeed if the brave and disciplined young freedom-fighters are organised and prepared to stand up in defence of the homes, the lives and the security of their own people.

Today in many parts of the country, government policy is driving people into resistance to a stage where they are clamouring for action. Local leaders cannot lag behind the people, or they will cease to be leaders and the blind forces of destruction and revenge will take over. But local action must always be principled, in accordance with the established policy and general direction of the national leadership. No desperation: no adventurism: but firm, resolute and revolutionary action! That should be the watchword of the oppressed people and their leaders in the difficult days ahead. That is the policy of the Communist Party.

THE FIGHT FOR WAGES

How can we live, how can we keep our families, on the miserable wages we are paid? To the millions of low-paid workers, especially the Africans, in the factories, shops and other businesses in the towns, no question is more pressing than this.

Everybody, even many employers' associations, agree that Africans are paid far too little. Yet hardly anything—for most workers nothing at all—is done to raise the wages. The result is terrible poverty. Whole families live close to starvation. The worker cannot manage to feed his family, to buy clothing, to pay for rent, transport, taxes, school fees and all the other expenses out of his wages. His wife is forced to go out to work and neglect the children, and still there is not enough. Often the neglected and hungry children turn to crime. Always there is trouble with the police. Always the answer is the same—*we have no money.*

Why are African wages so low, when Europeans get far more pay often for doing much less work? African workers are seriously considering this question—and finding the correct answer. It is not that they are less capable and efficient workers: it is that they are discriminated against on racial grounds. Their trade unions are not recognised: their strikes are illegal. Even when certain employers would be prepared to negotiate with the workers they are stopped from doing so out of fear of the government.

Why are the government and the White boss class so determined to keep African wages at starvation level, to stop any big and important increases anywhere? It is because the whole economic structure of the country, the phoney 'prosperity' of the country, the big profits for White local and foreign capitalists, all rest on the foundation of cheap, sweated African labour. And this twisted economic structure is the foundation of the twisted political and social superstructure of South Africa, of apartheid and all the vicious anti-African practices of the government.

That is why it is impossible to look at the wage demands of the African workers from a purely economic and trade union point of view. Every strike of African workers, even in one factory, is immediately looked at as a political and a police matter. The government and the bosses and the mine owners and the farmers are very keenly aware that a real big jump up in wages for one group of workers, even in one trade or industry, will inspire the millions of underpaid workers elsewhere, in industry, in commerce, on the mines, on the farms, to demand and fight for more money for themselves, too.

The workers are very well aware of this as well. That is why it is so rare to see a strike of workers, these days, in one factory or one industry. It is not that they do not have plenty of reason for striking: it is because they know that if one group of workers come out on strike on their own, all the forces of the state and the police will be brought in to hammer them, to arrest them, to victimise and deport them.

That is why, when African workers think or talk about striking for higher wages, it is in terms of a general strike for general demands rather than the traditional trade union pattern of each section fighting piecemeal for its particular demands in each particular industry or trade. And this is a sound and healthy approach: for although conditions may differ in detail from one industry to another, *all* African workers in general are subjected to colonial-type exploitation on the same miserable general standard of pay. To meet this situation what is needed is the greatest possible united action of the majority of the working class.

This does not of course mean that the workers and their trade union leaders should not undertake strikes and other actions, whether legal or illegal, in a single industry or even a single factory. Where the need arises and the workers understand and are prepared for the consequences, they will take industrial action. And they will be correct to do so, for a single victory, even a small one, in a single strike, may be enough to spark off and inspire a whole series of similar actions among other workers, a process which the authorities may be unable to subdue.

What it does mean is that in the present period the advanced section of the workers should take a forward and militant line of policy in the fight for a living wage. They should inspire the workers with confidence in their own strength and unity. They should strive to broaden out every militant struggle for higher wages with a view to including every category of workers in regional and national general strikes.

Finally, they must aim to see that the workers are made fully aware of the *political* aspect of their fight for decent wages, conditions and opportunities of work. Fundamentally the fight of the African worker for a living wage is part and parcel of his struggle for citizenship and trade union rights. To win this fight it is necessary to destroy White minority rule and establish a state of national democracy.

The fight of the urban workers for more wages is part of, and merges with, the fight of the whole people for the right to live and work in this country, the fight for land and freedom, the fight to win

the national democratic revolution. The workers are not and cannot be separate from this great movement: in fact, they are its heart and soul and its natural leader.

RURAL AREAS AND 'BANTUSTANS'

The rural areas are no longer the placid backwaters of the country. They are becoming storm centres. The government itself is attempting to enforce its unacceptable policies against the resistance of the people. At the same time it is evicting militant men and women into the country areas from the towns, on a large scale. Both these attacks are having the effect of raising the tempo of revolutionary struggle in the countryside.

Especially in the Transkei and Zululand the government's attempt to force through its Bantustan schemes, have brought about an explosive situation. Some areas are already close to civil war. The issue is becoming very sharp and clear. The issue is not what sort of Bantustan constitution should be adopted, it is whether the people will accept any type of 'Regional self-rule' which means a surrender of their rights to citizenship within South Africa as a whole. More and more people are understanding that there is no liberation by way of accepting Verwoerd's mess of pottage, by way of separating the Transkei or any other area from the rest of the country. The only way is that of struggle for the overthrow of white minority rule and the liberation of South Africa, our country.

Events are proving the correctness of the policy and decisions of our last National Conference, which, despite campaigns by others for a more 'democratic' or 'genuine' Transkeian constitution, demanded the total rejection of Transkeian separation and called for unity in struggle of the whole country for total liberation.

The liberation movement encourages and assists the rural people in their struggles, and helps to prepare and train their most revolutionary people for action. But here again, wild, ill-planned adventures can and should be avoided. Blended with the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of the rural people we are increasingly seeing the effect of that knowledge of organisation and experience of tactics, strategy and planning which has been gained in many years of political struggle in the towns. The African National Congress itself is turning more strongly than ever to the countryside. It is building new A.N.C. branches and strengthening existing ones. The aim is not to displace such popular and respected traditional leaders as Sabata Dalindyebo, or to put forward Congress members as competitors for local leadership and authority, but to assist the local people and to unite the radical and anti-government forces in successful local action. Even though many traditional leaders may not share the Congress outlook, their resistance to the government is leading along the same road—a direct challenge to white supremacy and its eventual overthrow by the people.

The struggles of rural people against local oppression and on a local basis cannot by itself bring about the collapse of the Bantu Authorities system. For this, what is needed is a united nation-wide fight by the people of the country and the towns together, to overthrow white supremacy. But these local struggles are a starting point which can ignite the South African revolution. They inspire the country and show that the powerful giant of apartheid can be resisted and checked, where men are ready, organised and united, and where they fight back. To-day the Nationalist government has a great advantage in arms and the organised state machine. But the people are stronger in numbers and conviction in the rightness of their cause. In the course of struggle they will gain also the organisation that is necessary for victory.

The government and its running dogs, like Kaiser Matanzima, who aspires to the sorry role of the Tshombe of the Transkei, is inflicting a reign of terror to make the people submit. They have for three years maintained a 'State of Emergency' in the Transkei. They have kept hundreds of people in jail without charge or trial. Their 'homeguards' assault African patriots, rape women, kill, burn down huts, turn farmers off their lands to starve. They are armed and backed by white police and military.

But history teaches us—and Transkei patriots are proving it again—that neither terror nor force of arms can subdue the spirit of an awakened people. The Mountain Committees and the Xhosa fighting tradition is reconquering the Transkei from the invaders: and as has happened before, those without arms will learn how to obtain and to use the weapons they need for freedom.

The Communist Party is basically an organisation of urban workers. But it is a fundamental principle of our policy to build the closest ties of friendship between the workers and the peasants. Especially in a country like ours, where such close links already exist between the Africans in the towns and their brothers in the platteland, it is the duty of every member of our party to assist the rural people in their bitter struggles and to show in practice that the staunchest ally of the peasant masses is the industrial working class of South Africa. Our workers must strengthen their personal ties with the countryside: they must work with the greatest sympathy, tact and patience, not to divide the rural people but to unite all patriotic forces among them for the overthrow of minority rule and ownership, and the transfer of the land and the government of the whole of South Africa to the whole of the people.

'ORGANISATION DECIDES EVERYTHING'

It is a usual tactic of fascists and other reactionaries to present a terrifying and completely distorted picture of 'Communism', and then to label and smear all critics, all advocates of change, as 'Communists'. The Nationalist Party are expert students of Hitler and McCarthy in these tactics. The African National Congress in particular has been made the victim of these smearing methods.

In its press and radio propaganda, the Nationalist Party paints an absurd picture, that the Communist Party has 'captured' the African National Congress and other liberation organisations, that it 'controls' these movements and decides their policy for them. This propaganda, which is aided by people like the P.A.C. and certain leaders of the Liberal Party, flies in the face of truth and commonsense. The Communist Party has no desire to 'control' or dominate any other organisation, and it is ridiculous to imagine that the leaders of the A.N.C. and its allies, who daily face persecution and even death to maintain the existence and independence of their organisations, would tamely submit to dictation from our Party or anyone else.

Certainly there is a large area of agreement between the Communist Party and the A.N.C. on policy and strategy. But this is certainly not because either organisation controls the other: it is because like the A.N.C., we of the S.A.C.P., as stated in our Programme, regard as our 'immediate and foremost task' a united front of national liberation to destroy white domination and achieve a national democratic revolution, whose 'main content . . . will be the national liberation of the African people'. It is not remarkable that the policy of our Party should coincide with the aims and aspirations of the majority of the people and their organisations—indeed this is a tribute to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application by our Party to the realities of the South African situation.

Our political policy is correct: it can be understood and accepted by the national liberation movement and the masses of the people. But it is not enough for the leaders to have a correct policy. It is necessary that an adequate machinery must exist to convey this policy to the people and to enable them to carry it out effectively. That is exactly what is missing in the present situation in this country. It is true that the smashing attacks of the government have crippled and made almost impossible the means of propaganda and organisation which have been used in the past. The Nationalists are out to smash all organisations that oppose white domination, to stop their leaders from speaking. writing or meeting one another, to victimise, jail and exile them. Every day some new blanket or individual ban is announced, issued by the Minister of Justice. But all these handicaps can be overcome by careful and intelligent organisation that recognises that new conditions need new methods and approaches. Failure to take necessary organisational steps would lead to a dangerous gap opening between the people and their leaders.

The period when it was possible to organise wide-scale open and lawful activity for freedom is nearing its end. It is still possible to find new organisational and propaganda methods to carry on the fight. But the methods which served so well in the past are no longer good enough. Most of the work of the liberation and democratic movements is unlawful. Whatever chances remain for carrying out legal mass work of education and organisation must be used to the full. But such chances have become so limited that they form only a minor side of the work that has to be done. The freedom movement has been forced into the position where illegal work is the major side of its activity. All ideas on organisation must now be reconsidered. The main job of the movement is to make its illegal work more effective, more efficient and more successful in reaching the masses of the people and evading repressive action by the authorities.

With the struggle rising in intensity, the most vicious punishments are being meted out to everyone who is known or even suspected to be involved in underground activity. Points of law and court procedures are thrown to the winds, as the state and the judges put the preservation of white supremacy before every consideration of justice, fairplay and the legal tradition. In these conditions, carelessness and recklessness become serious crimes against the people.

OUR PARTY

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the *South African Communist Party*. In the strengthening and the leadership of our organisation rests the key to victory. Our Party is the most experienced and seasoned in underground work. It is guided by and imbued with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism which has been proved time and again to be the only correct revolutionary ideology.

Our Party can only fulfil the great tasks which now face it if it is greatly increased in membership, effectiveness and in the understanding and self-sacrificing work of each individual member.

Our inspiring new Programme—South Africa's Road to Freedom—provides us with an invaluable tool to raise the political level of our membership and to attract and enrol many new members. It must be made the basis of a vigorous and dynamic campaign of education both within the Party itself and amongst revolutionary workers and intellectuals who have not yet joined our ranks.

We do not want and never have wanted to enrol members into the Party who are not ready for it or who are likely to prove unstable or unreliable. But the time has come when we must discard the conservative approach which regards any worker who has not yet fully absorbed the teachings or perhaps merely the vocabulary of Communism as 'not ready' or 'unsuitable'. Thousands of people are to-day able to absorb the straight-forward message of our Programme and are ready to fight and die for it. It is imperative that we find a way to reach these people and draw them into our ranks.

To do all these things properly it will be necessary for all our members not only to give their time and their devoted work to the Party, but also to help raise more money and to make the fullest personal financial sacrifices that they can. At a time when every revolutionary is facing imprisonment or even death, there is no sacrifice from which we can shrink.

As a result of the present 'state of siege' mentality of the ruling classes, and the massive resources being devoted to 'security', to police activities, terror intimidation and surveillance of known Leftists, the work of our Party, spearhead of the advanced working class, becomes far more difficult and dangerous. To meet the dangers we need to be filled with unshakeable courage and confidence in our Party, our class, our people and our cause. We have every reason for confidence.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

Events in South Africa are moving towards a crisis, culminating in a direct clash, between the forces of reaction, apartheid and barbarism organised by the state, and the forces of liberation.

As the struggle grows more acute, the bravest and most resolute men and women will come forward to lead the people in the path of struggle and victory. The people will organise and fight back on every front—against pass laws, Bantustans and group areas, against starvation wages, against mass evictions, against police state terrorism. They will take bold local initiative against grievances: merging every local and partial struggle into a mighty river of people's insurrection that will sweep away minority baaskap and win people's rule in a free South Africa!

The Nationalist government cannot succeed in its attempts to check the awakened people of our country in their irresistible drive to freedom: they can only succeed in making that struggle more bitter and bloody. Should they persist in this course, the only effect can be that the present outbreaks of sabotage and violence will develop into full-scale civil war, beginning with guerilla operations in various parts of the countryside and culminating in an armed insurrection of the whole oppressed people throughout the country.

It is not the Communists and it is not the oppressed non-White majority who have chosen this path: it is the ruling classes, the Nationalist Party, backed up and encouraged by the United Party, and the big capitalist interests. They are out to keep big profits, stolen land and White privileges, even at the cost of a continuous reign of terror that turns our whole country into one big concentration camp, even at the cost of many innocent lives, both non-White and White.

There is only one way out of the misery and bloodshed of Nationalist rule and White domination—the revolutionary way out. Our people will never submit to terror and intimidation; they will unite, organise and prepare to fight back. Death and sacrifices cannot deter patriots who are determined to win freedom; who have decided that it is no longer possible to live like slaves and be treated worse than dogs.

Down with the Verwoerd Government of starvation, tyranny and death!

Down with apartheid and partition of South Africa!

Forward to a united, free South Africa: the whole country for the whole people!

Unite for Land, Freedom and the Right to Live!

THE THINGS THAT BIND US

IT IS TO BE HOPED that niceties of prestige and protocol will not be permitted to stand in the way of a speedy meeting, at the highest level, between the leaders of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. The present-day Communist movement is by far the greatest and most widespread revolutionary movement the world has ever known. Its millions of members are organised in nearly ninety Parties, covering every continent; in a dozen countries, comprising a third of humanity, capitalism has been overthrown and the communist parties are governing parties, leading the people in the exhilarating task of constructing socialism and communism. In so vast a movement it is natural and inevitable that, from time to time, differences will arise concerning the interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist principles which they all share, or the assessments that are made of a complex and rapidly changing international situation. It is normal and healthy that such differences should be debated and resolved in comradely and democratic discussion, as was done at the famous gatherings of communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

What would be unhealthy, and extremely dangerous, is if such differences should remain unresolved and become the occasion for a factional split between the Parties, and eventually within each Party.

This is not a matter which concerns the Communists alone. It concerns the whole of the thousand million people of the socialist camp, and the vast mass of oppressed and exploited people in the capitalist countries, for whom the Communist movement is the rock like bastion against war and imperialism, the standard bearer and hope of a better life.

The things that bind the Communists together are infinitely more important and permanent than the temporary differences that have arisen. They share a common outlook: the brilliant and unconquerable principle of Marxism-Leninism, which in an incredibly short period of historical time has swept throughout the world and established itself as the only correct and scientific revolutionary ideology, offering mankind a way forward to a world without wars, without poverty, without national oppression and class exploitation. They are the spokesmen and leaders of the same class, the international proletariat, vanguard of the toiling masses in the struggle for the new, classless world of socialism. They are heirs to a glorious revolutionary tradition, whose record is ennobled by the names of countless Communist workers and peasants, famous and humble, who fell on the battlefields, of thousands of fierce struggles against imperialism, fascism and colonialism or were murdered in jails and concentration camps. They face a common enemy, imperialism, desperate in this epoch of its decline, ruthless, aggressive, treacherous, eager to seize upon and turn to its advantage any rift in the ranks of its opponents.

It was Marx and Engels, in the 'Communist Manifesto' of 1848 who issued the great battle-call: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' In our times such a call takes on a new meaning, as an imperative for the cause of peace and socialism. It is essential that—before attitudes harden, and factional tendencies develop to a stage where mistrust and even hostility replace comradely discussion, and the real issues at stake are lost sight of in a welter of unseemly recriminations, accusations and counter-accusations of mounting gravity—it is essential that misunderstandings be removed and a proper perspective established.

To such a happy result, nothing could contribute more at this stage than a frank, comradely meeting between Comrades Khrushchov and Mao Tse-Tung and their colleagues, representing the two largest Communist Parties with all the esteem and affection both deservedly enjoy among Communists and working people throughout the world.

IN THE DEEP SOUTH

CLEARLY the Southern area of our Continent faces an increasingly stormy future in the period immediately ahead, as the White minor-ities, armed and backed by imperialism, prepare a last-ditch stand to preserve colonialism, and the peoples march determinedly ahead to win their freedom. The Statement of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, published in this issue, clearly analyses the situation in Verwoerd's Republic and sets forth the aims and tasks of the workers and revolutionary masses in the grim struggles ahead. Farther North, Welensky's ill-fated 'Federation' is shattering to pieces, under the hammer-blows of the African liberation movement. Independence and secession for the territories north of the Zambesi cannot be much longer delayed, and one may look forward in the near future to Mr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda heading independent African states, working, we are confident, in close co-operation with one another and with neighbouring Tanganyika for the benefit of their people and of Africa as a whole.

The Field government in Salisbury is trying to save something out of the wreck by pressing forward its claim for 'immediate independence for Southern Rhodesia'. But the whole world knows that this demand has nothing in common with the familiar demand for independence of African peoples as we know it throughout the Continent today. It is merely a barefaced claim that the White minority in the territory should be handed the sole right to dominate the great African majority. If the Tory government in London should agree to this impudent demand they will be giving away what is not theirs to grant, and committing a crime against African freedom and African rights which will never be forgiven. It is the same crime which British imperialism committed 50 years ago when it handed the Union of South Africa over to the tender mercies of slavedriving mine magnates and farmers, determined to maintain and intensify White domination. Only it is far worse at the present time, in the era of African emancipation, when the ghastly crimes of Verwoerd's South Africa have sickened and outraged the conscience of the world. If Macmillan's doomed Government—which has clearly already lost the confidence of the British electorate—gives in to Field it will not be preserving British interests, and White settler domination, it will be ensuring an explosion which will leave nothing of either.

Another unsavoury episode which has seriously undermined what is left of Britain's reputation in Africa, is the scandalous police raid on the Pan-African Congress refugee headquarters in Maseru. We hold no brief for Mr. Potlako Leballo, whose fantastic provocations and fabrications play into the hands of the fascist authorities in the Republic and do far more harm than good to the cause of South African freedom. But this is a matter to be judged and dealt with by the masses of people of South Africa itself, and not by the British colonial authorities in Lesotho. Like the earlier incident of the kidnapping of freedom-fighter Anderson Ganyile by the South African Police, and other similar scandals, the raid on P.A.C. can only strengthen the profound suspicions which already exist that the British colonial administration and in particular its police are hand in glove with the Verwoerd regime. We condemn and protest vigorously against this outrage, which is an insult to the independence and the hospitality of the Basotho nation. We are sure that the episode will strengthen the unity of all patriots and parties in Lesotho, and their determination to win full independence.

Things are also coming to a head in another of Britain's colonies, or as she likes to call them, 'Protectorates', in South Africa—Swaziland. The recent 'constitutional talks' in London produced a 'stalemate'—the result of treating the extravagant claims of the tiny minority of White settlers (aided and abetted by some representatives from Chief Sobhuza's feudal court) as if they were on a par with the demands of the Swaziland Progressive Party, speaking for the whole Swazi nation, for independence and democracy based on the one-man-one-vote principle. A gale of healthy reality has been blown into these remote proceedings by the recent stubborn and heroic strike of the Swazi sugar workers, incredibly sweated and exploited by the White planters, and by the stormy demonstrations of the Swaziland Progressive Party which have now been answered by the British authorities' arrest of S.P.P. leader, Mr. Dhlamini. Clearly the Swazi people are rapidly learning, as all Britain's colonial slaves have had to learn, that true freedom and independence is to be won not by begging for favours in Whitehall, but by resolute and effective mass action at home.

REPRESSION AGAINST COMMUNISTS

IT IS EASY to understand why Verwoerd's Gestapo—the security police—direct their main blows against the Communists, why the Communist Party is driven underground, and all considered to be Communists are hounded and persecuted, subjected to house-arrest, banishment and all sorts of other penalties without trial. Like the colonialist authorities in Africa, they try to suppress Communism because they know the Communists are the most inflexible fighters for national freedom, against colonialism and racial discrimination of any kind.

What is not easy to understand, and impossible to condone, is that many of the newly-independent nationalist regimes in Africa have turned upon their Communist brothers, who fought side-by-side with other patriots in the front ranks for liberation and independence, and also subjected Communist Parties to illegality just as the colonialist masters did before them.

The statement by the Algerian Communist Party, published in this issue of our magazine, exposes, with courage, patriotism and dignity, this utterly wrong attitude, a hangover from colonialism, which mars and impedes Africa's advance to freedom and democracy. A similar harmful situation prevails in Egypt, the Sudan, Morocco and other African countries. Until recently, Tunisia had the honour of being the only African state in which a well established Communist Party enjoyed—at any rate, formal—legality. But even Tunisia has now fallen a victim to the international contagion of anti-Communism. The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party wrote to M. Habib Bourguiba, President and Head of the Government of Tunisia, protesting against the reported ban on the Tunisian Communist Party. The text is as follows:

> Since its liberation, we and indeed all oppressed people in South Africa have looked up to and admired the democratic policy followed out by your government in giving full legal rights and opportunities to minority and radical groups in your country. In Tunisia, alone on the African continent, the Communist Party has been legal and able to function openly, putting its ideas before the public for the cause of the final and complete liberation of the country from the legacy of imperialism. Here indeed was an example to be followed by all freedom-seeking Africa.
>
> It is with dismay therefore that we have read recent press reports which state that your government has illegalised the Tunisian Communist Party. If the reports are true, we cannot but express our profound conviction that this step is both unjust and against the best interests of Africa's liberation struggles.
>
> In Africa, Asia, South America and elsewhere, the Communists have long been in the vanguard of the ranks of the fighters against colonialism and national oppression. In that fight they have persisted courageously against tremendous odds, against legal persecution and sometimes illegal persecution. What they have done everywhere has contributed immeasurably to the growth of freedom and democracy in what was once the colonial world and has helped peoples of many countries to their independence.
>
> But you, Sir, are as well aware as anyone that the fight for the final liberation of Africa has not been concluded: and that though

they have suffered serious defeats the imperialist powers still strive everywhere to hang on to their positions of political and economic control and dominance. At this stage, the outlawing of the Communist Party is tantamount to disarming a determined, steeled and courageous ally of the liberation cause, and thus to strengthening the hand of the enemy against you.

We cannot believe that such a step can be anything other than a turning away from the gains and achievements of the African revolution, and a preparation for retreat or surrender when the last strongholds of the enemy, imperialism, are already being stormed by the people and their liberation movement. It can serve only the enemies of Africa, not the people.

We have little doubt that history will prove that the struggle for the complete liberation of Africa from its heritage of backwardness advances best where the Communist Party is strong. It has everywhere been the unique contribution of the Communists to bring the vast creative energy and strength of the working class into the battle for national independence and for national reconstruction. Without this unique contribution Tunisian liberty will be weaker, Tunisian reconstruction slower, Tunisian independence less secure.

It is for these reasons, Sir, that we, with the support of all democratic and freedom seeking South Africans, urge you to restore the

OUR MAGAZINE ■ *An Explanation*

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST is at present entirely edited, and almost entirely written, in South Africa itself. In times of mounting repression in our country, such as now exist, it becomes extremely difficult to carry out this work efficiently and on time; this accounts for the delay in the appearance of the present issue.

However, we South African Communists fully recognise the importance of the work our journal is doing, not only in our own country but also in many other African countries.

For this reason a number of measures have been taken to ensure continued and regular publication of THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in future, despite difficult conditions in the homeland.

We are determined to maintain and expand our journal of the African Revolution!

> Tunisian Communist Party to full legality. And thus, Sir, to restore Tunisian democracy to the proud place it formerly held of the pace-setter and advance guard of African democratic government.

A DIVERSION OF EFFORT

OUR ATTENTION has been drawn to a small publication, appearing to be printed in Paris, called Assagai (sic!). The anonymous group responsible speak from a Marxist viewpoint and identify themselves with the struggle of Umkonto We Sizwe and other freedom-fighters in South Africa. Unfortunately the publication contains a number of incorrect formulations. For example, the Editorial states: 'We in South Africa see the national struggle as merely the first step towards socialism,' and this kind of approach appears in other places in the magazine. Such incorrect statements directly contradict the attitude of the South African Communist Party as stated in its Programme, THE ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM. The Programme declares unequivocally.

> As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of this Revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights, and opportunities to all. The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people, and share with them the over-riding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa laying the foundations of a classless, communist society. . . .
>
> The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists, At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes:

> drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country's economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people. The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future. To win these aims is the immediate task of all the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, headed by the working class and its party, the Communist Party.

In all sincerity we urge those responsible for producing this publication to support present organised efforts being made abroad on behalf of the liberation movement in South Africa. Unorganised 'independent' efforts, though well meant, can only result in confusion and a diversion of effort.

AGAINST THE BAN ON THE ALGERIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

LATE IN 1962, it was announced from Algeria that the government had banned the Algerian Communist Party, and suppressed its central organ, *El-Hourriya.* The announcement caused dismay in the hearts of many freedom fighters in all parts of oppressed Africa. For many years we had supported and given what aid we could to the fighting united people of Algeria, headed by the F.L.N., in their desperate struggle against the forces of French imperialism. We had drawn strength and inspiration from their dauntless struggle against overwhelming odds. And their final victory and the establishment of the first Algerian people's government had been a moment of triumph and joy for all oppressed Africa.

How bitter then was this blow against the Algerian Communist Party! We had learnt to know, respect and admire the Algerian Communists for what they had done, for what they had suffered and also for what they had contributed in the united people's struggle for a free Algeria. We knew that, for twenty-five years, hunted, oppressed and persecuted by French imperialism, they had carried on a dauntless struggle for the freedom, independence and progress of their people. We knew them as the foremost victims of Algeria's freedom struggles. We knew that they had fought—and died—side by side with other Algerian patriots of other political creeds to bring into power the government of free Algeria. How could this blow against the Algerian Communist Party be delivered by their allies, the F.L.N.?

The Communists were not newcomers to the armed struggle for Algerian liberation. In 1954, at the very beginning of the armed uprising in Algeria, the Party had instructed its members to join the ranks of the partisans in those areas where the uprising had started. In those early years, when the struggle was in its beginnings, when all the advantages were on the side of French imperialism, the Communists suffered heavy losses. Members of the Party's Central Committee, the plumber Taleb Bouali, the peasant Tahar Gomri, the lawyer Land Lamrani and many others fell in battle. One of the first commanders of a fighting patriotic unit to fall in battle was the Communist Hamma Lagdar, killed early in 1959.

How many more Communists were arrested, tortured, killed by the French government forces for carrying on their work of mobilising, inspiring and organising the Algerian people for struggle, even after the Party was outlawed in 1955? Eight out of twelve members of the Political Bureau of the Party were tracked down by French police and arrested. But during the whole period of the war for freedom, the Party members carried on: its leaders remained and worked in Algeria throughout, in the face of the most ferocious torture and oppression.

There had been an unwritten alliance between the Communist Party and the F.L.N. throughout the war, described by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Bachir Hadj Ali thus: 'In the political sphere, our Party constantly supports the National Liberation Front which directs the struggle of the Algerian people. This support . . . serves as the basis for the political unity of the people of Algeria, and their unity of views on immediate aims.' This alliance and unity of aims persisted throughout the military struggle. It continued after victory, when the Party approved the Evian agreement with France, when it rallied the democratic and patriotic forces of the people to strengthen and support the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, and when it called for and worked for the full implementation of the Ben Bella government's home and foreign policies.

The Communist Party made substantial sacrifices for Algerian unity. It had disbanded its own armed groups and integrated them into the ranks of the F.L.N., under F.L.N. command—even though the Communists were excluded from the command. They had agreed to merging the trade unions under their influence with other trade unions in order to end disunity and create a single national trade union centre, the General Alliance of the Working People, under the influence and leadership of the F.L.N. It had campaigned for and assisted to win the victory of the F.L.N. in the elections for the first constituent assembly.

Against this background, the November 29th announcement of the banning of the Party and its press fell like a bombshell. How is it possible for freedom fighters now, in the face of the record, to understand or approve the statement of the Minister of Information in the Algerian government, Mr. Hadj-Hamu, that there is '. . . no place for the Communist Party in Algeria now'?

We publish below a remarkable document, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Algeria, which answers both this question and the Minister's claim. Remarkable not only for what it says, but also for the clear light it casts on the policy and aims of the A.C.P., and on its still unswerving determination—come what may—to struggle on for the realisation of real Algerian independence, and a socialist Algeria—even in co-operation with the government which has swerved aside from its purpose to attack and outlaw the Party itself. We believe that this document will be read and thought over by freedom fighters everywhere, where the twin problems of independence and of the advance to socialism are raising the dilemma of achieving national unity and yet of maintaining a militant class party of the working people dedicated to the aim of building socialism.

(Translated from the French.)

THE ALGERIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE SINGLE PARTY

After the installation of the Political Bureau (P.B.) of the F.L.N. in Algiers, which was assisted by our Party's stand in favour of a centralised authority, a number of leaders of the Front made statements concerning our Party. President Abbas Khidder, for example, the general secretary of the P.B. of the F.L.N., declared himself in favour of the free activity of our Party. On his part, Ben Bella told 'Unita' that the place of Algerian Communists was inside the Front. He added that this meant the admittance of all members of the A.C.P. to the Front, and the ending of A.C.P. activity. But he stipulated that there was no intention to ban the A.C.P.

Later, the Minister of the Interior verbally stated to Comrade Bouhali that the government had decided that our Party should cease activity until the Congress of the F.L.N., and that our comrades could be active within the Front. The seriousness of this statement is obvious, especially since it was preceded by the seizure of our paper *El-Hourriya* from many shops and kiosks, though these were subsequently again allowed to stock the paper. This step was followed by the banning of our press conference, and of a meeting in Setif. These acts are certainly exercising pressure on our Party to dissolve itself within the Front.

To justify these infringements of freedom in the face of public opinion which was shocked by these acts, the newspapers *Al Chaab* and *El Moudjahid* stated that it was necessary to safeguard the unity of our people in view of the immense tasks before all Algerians.

FOR UNITY, YES!

The unity of the Algerian people is a cherished aspiration of all revolutionary patriots. Whilst struggling for socialism and an end to the exploitation of man by man, our Party works to end class antagonisms, and to build political and moral unity of the nation. We are pleased at the positive side of the reasoning of the F.L.N. militants who wish our Party to merge with the F.L.N. into a single party. Many of our F.L.N. brothers have an obvious desire for unity: they have the will to build socialism and the conviction that our Party is a reservoir of revolutionary strength and cadres.

The newspaper *Al Chaab* asks the Algerian Communists to do as the Cuban Communists do. We are ready to follow the example of our Cuban comrades; and we sincerely wish that our F.L.N. brothers should be ready to do as the '26th July Movement' of Fidel Castro did. A single party for socialism is too serious a matter for us to treat with less than the highest importance. In Cuba today, such a party is still in the course of realisation.

We must learn something from the crisis of the F.L.N. in order to really progress towards unity. The National Council of the Resistance (C.N.R.A.) unanimously adopted the draft Tripoli Programme: that did not prevent the crisis of the F.L.N. Today, because of the F.L.N. crisis, discussions are starting on the need for improving and completing this programme, and of democratically preparing for the Congress: this is normal.

We think that there is no point in superficially agreeing, or agreeing under duress, and then later dissociating ourselves from an agreement. In the same way, if the single party is realised only by agreement between leaders, it will not survive. It is necessary for democracy to penetrate the lives of all Algerians. It is a means of mobilising the masses: it gives dignity to the common people: it arouses their feelings of responsibility: it is a means of stimulating fraternal competition between all patriots. Just because the bourgeoisie in Europe and America have deformed democracy and corrupted political standards by their sterile practices, is no reason why our people should toss aside liberties of which they were once cruelly deprived and the value of which they have come to know and to appreciate.

Let us consider, then, in detail, the problems of the single party.

FIRST — THE OBJECTIVE

A single party for what purpose? For building socialism, answer some of our nationalist brothers.

Our Party was the first in Algeria to inscribe socialism in its programme. It has struggled to make the ideas of socialism known in Algeria. The Tripoli Programme, also proposes: 'A conscious building of the country in the frame of socialist principles and of power in the hands of the people.'

We agree then on the word 'socialism'. But we must agree on the content and the principles too, more so because some African statesmen speak of 'socialism' but in fact turn their backs on it. If we accept the statement of Bouzmaa, the Minister of Labour, that he rejects the Blum* kind of socialism, we still must ask whether the ideas of all the brothers in the P.B. and the government are quite clear about their concept of socialism, particularly because some references by them to Nasser's 'Arab socialism' can give rise to confusion.

We think, in fact, that though some of the steps of Nasser's government are positive, the general direction of its economic policy is not in the direction of building a socialist society. In his message to the nation (16.10.61) he in fact stated that 'The means of our people's organisation is the National Union, which has to serve as a barrier to class struggle'. But class struggle is a *fact* which was not 'invented' by the Communists. It exists, and is the moving force of society's evolution. And in the same message, President Nasser said: 'I am not against individual ownership, but against exploiters' ownership.' And he added: 'Investments are open in every field for individual activity. The fruits of such investments, in the framework of the present fiscal laws, is not exploiters' property.' Which means that it is enough merely to have taxation which strikes at the rich in order to end capitalist exploitation of the workers.

Taxation of the capitalists who own factories and land is *not* sufficient to ensure the end of exploiters' property. It does not abolish exploitation of man by man. President Nasser further stated: 'When we interfere, it does not mean that we want to destroy or weaken capitalism; but we think it is our duty to supervise it.' But it is neither with taxes on riches nor by supervision of capitalism that socialism can be built. As the programme of our Party states:

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* Leon Blum—former leader of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) who advocated a reformist brand of 'socialism'—which was really capitalism in disguise.

> 'Neither agrarian reform nor nationalisation are sufficient for the building of socialism. But their achievement will create the economic, social and political conditions which will enable Algeria to pass to a genuine socialist regime.
>
> 'This will necessitate, as is shown by the examples of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and Cuba, that the general laws of socialism be allied to the national conditions of Algeria, that is—
>
> **social ownership of the chief means of production: progressive collectivisation of agriculture: the united front of the working class, the poor peasantry and all national progressive forces under the leadership of the working class: the existence of a powerful Marxist-Leninist Party.**
>
> 'Marxism-Leninism itself teaches that socialism cannot be built if one does not take into account the specific national conditions of the country, when applying these general laws. International experience shows at the same time that a socialist regime can not exist in any country where the general laws of socialism which are valid for all countries are not applied.'

The Algerian people are a people of Arab-Islamic culture, and mostly religious. In order to build socialism one must apply the laws of scientific socialism which exist objectively and independently of any of our philosophic beliefs. The Tripoli Programme rightly denounces '. . . the conception which consists of using Islam for demagogic aims in order to avoid the real problems. Certainly we belong to a Moslem civilisation which has deeply influenced the history of mankind: but it would be a disservice to that civilisation to believe that its revival depends on simple, subjective formulae in religious behaviour and practice'.

NEXT — THE CLASS

A single party to build socialism? But guided by which class? The answer is simple. By that class which, because of its part in production, works in the most consistent fashion towards the building of socialism. The working class is the only class which—as a class—does not aspire to the private ownership of the means of production, and which desires collective ownership of the means of production.

Even though poor, the peasants are tied to an individual way of production. The peasantry does not constitute a homogeneous mass: it does not have the organisational abilities of the working class. It is the basic army and the driving force of the liberation movement, but it cannot lead it as a class, and especially not in the stage of the building of socialism. But we stress the fact that, without an alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry, no victory is possible for either: and that the guiding role of the working class is contained within such an alliance which should be extended also to the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. The workers in the cities and the fellahin have common enemies—colonial landowners, feudalists, neo-colonialists and profiteers of the war of liberation.

In order to be worthy of its leading role, the working class must place itself at the forefront of those who are building up the country, as representative of the interests of the nation as a whole: the working class must be able, for some time, to put aside its own specific demands, because the essential matter today is to raise the standard of living of the poorest sections of the people in town and country.

Any repressive steps taken against the working class, any anti-communism, weakens the most revolutionary force in our country, divides the liberation movement and retards our march towards socialism, the building of which can only be effected by the working people, workers, poor peasants, students, petty and middle sections of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

What does leadership by the working class at this stage of building socialism mean? It means that the forces which wish to build socialism must adopt the ideology of the working class, which is scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. Our Party believes that, at this stage of building socialism, the question of who is in power and what is their class origin is of secondary importance, if the country's leaders wish to build socialism on a scientific basis. It is possible that the responsibility for leading the country during this stage rests on the men who led the national liberation struggle.

HOW TO ADVANCE

The crisis of the F.L.N. has shown the following:

- that the single party without a socialist ideological basis, or on the basis of bourgeois ideology is not protected from sterile manoeuvres, or from conflicts which are dangerous to the public peace.

- that a programme alone is not sufficient basis for the realising of unity.

- that apart from the Political Bureau of the F.L.N., which is in power, and the Algerian Communist Party, there are various other groups and political streams which originated in the F.L.N.

At the same time, the present stage of our struggle is not the building of socialism. In our country there are still many thousands of foreign soldiers. The French cartels hold on to their solid economic bases. Land colonisation has not yet been eradicated. The colonial inheritance is heavy. Unemployment is appalling. Today, therefore, the problem is primarily to liberate the country from the neo-colonialist grip, to restart the economy, to persevere with the praiseworthy efforts of the Ben Bella government towards the peasantry, in the fields of factories, schools and public health: and to give the country republican and democratic institutions at every level.

Realism demands, at the present stage, a single united front of all patriotic and progressive forces, united on a common programme of genuine national liberation, and of social and economic progress on the basis of a non-capitalist orientation, and of autonomy of the national organisations with a common discipline.

Given the various currents and trends in Algeria, it is said, such a union will not be solid. If the F.L.N. itself could not succeed in avoiding a crisis and risk of disintegration, how could such a single united front? Our answer is

- that these arguments about the fragility of such a single national front, are even more valid for a single national party.
- that in present conditions such a single national front would have the advantage over a single party of being formed voluntarily, without constraint, and on a clear basis of policy: that the people, through people's committees of the front, would be better able to judge the policy and actions of every force and current within it: and that in the course of struggle, the most consistent revolutionary forces would have time to get to know each other better and to draw closer together, thus cementing their unity.

Admittedly, the single front is not the best solution. But it is today the best, and it is more realistic than the formation of a single party. Measures to force the formation of such a single party cannot avoid dividing the revolutionary and patriotic forces, but on the contrary will deepen such division. On the other hand, the realisation of the Single Front programme and the mobilisation of the people will pave the way to socialism. It will help to wipe out mutual prejudices: it will allow the most revolutionary elements to cement their relations more closely: it will create conditions which are favourable for the formation of a single party of a Leninist type for the building of socialism.

If revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, representing social groups, should prefer to keep their separate autonomous organisations, or should refuse to participate in the building of a single party aiming at socialism, it is the view of the Algerian Communist Party that their rights must be respected. The essential matter is that all such forces must pull together under the same leadership.

The Algerian Communist Party will make the most patient and the most brotherly efforts to see that the revolutionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie accept the fact that scientific socialism is in the interests of the nation as a whole. Some of our brothers in the Front say: 'We are Marxist-Leninists. We work for the victory of these ideas *within the Front*. Dissolve the A.C.P. and there will be more Marxist-Leninists within the Front: and we shall make the ideas of scientific socialism, which is the most revolutionary theory and the most fruitful for Algeria, triumph!'

THE QUESTION OF PARTY

This poses a question. Is Lenin's idea on the need to safeguard the existence of the Communist Party, even in its embryonic stage, still correct in the present period of history when there exists a vast socialist camp, when communism is triumphantly being built in the U.S.S.R., when socialist ideas are spreading particularly in the uncommitted portions of the world, raising the social consciousness of the masses and even the not very strong feelings of our national bourgeoisie?

The question deserves much thought. At the beginning of—and during—the liberatory war, our brothers in the Front asked us to dissolve our Party. But we maintained it for patriotic reasons, despite the fact that during the war there was a time when the Party became 'embryonic' as a result of its terrible losses. Today the progress of the national movement confirms the role played by the Party in that war: its policies and organisational growth confirm that it was correct to maintain it during the war as an independent Party which supported the Front and was a natural part of the Front's forces.

Would the dissolution of the Party, without any guarantee or defined principles, help to foster Marxist ideas within the liberation movement? Such dissolution—or more precisely the fusion of the Party forces with the Political Bureau's forces—could only foster Marxist-Leninist ideas if it came about on the very foundation of those ideas. If not, the merger would result in the extinction of the living heart of Marxism-Leninism: and there is no spark left when the heart is destroyed. However, the merger of the Party with the most revolutionary forces of the Front, on the basis of scientific socialism, would not entail the disappearance of the Party, but rather the formation of a larger Party of the Leninist type with new forces.

It is our duty as patriots and communists to ask ourselves why some leaders of the Front ask us to dissolve the Party, sometimes even using pressure to force us to do so. We must also ask ourselves about the will to build socialism among certain leaders, when it is common knowledge that the Soumam Congress accepted the limiting of communist influence as one of its aims.

The experience of all countries shows this: that it is not possible to build genuine socialism while at the same time waging anti-communist campaigns or hindering the very force which works hardest to build socialism. Either our Party represents nothing, in which case why bother to use means of suppression against it, or it represents a real force and its existence reflects the needs and aspirations of the poorest sections of society: in which case it would be best to recognise it in a positive way, and to discuss amongst all us patriots the best way of uniting all energies and finding the best way towards socialism.

International experience shows that every step against the communists is followed by the strangling of the trade union movement and of the democratic forces. Our Party will fight within its own ranks, and also in the ranks of the F.L.N., against sectarianism which is a deadly danger to the revolution, and against anti-communism which is the weapon of imperialism.

In our ranks, such sectarianism could be fostered by sectarian attitudes of F.L.N. militants, or by the negative and opposition attitudes of some nationalist patriots to the P.B. of the F.L.N. Sectarianism could also take the form of demagogic or ultra-left positions in regard to the pace of political and social reform in the country.

We will never forget that we have one single enemy—neo-colonialism, together with its agents, the feudalists, and those who became monstrously rich during the war. Against these reactionary forces we will make a bloc with our nationalist brothers. The liberation of our country is not yet achieved! Its achievement will be the work not of a single man or party, but of all the patriotic forces together, without exception.

The Algerian Communist Party calls on those patriots who disagree with the P.B. of the F.L.N. to set aside their disagreements: to cease their attitudes of 'wait-and-see': to stop their negative opposition: and to join in the common constructive effort.

The Algerian Communist Party appeals to its militants to take part in the national effort with even greater enthusiasm. Wherever they are, whatever their responsibilities in the new Algeria, they must be amongst the most selfless and devoted in the battle for building the country. It appeals to them to work actively and militantly in the national organisations, in the Management Committees etc. This is the best way to foster the union of all patriotic forces.

WHERE WE STAND

To those patriots—nationalist or communist—who are surprised that the A.C.P. supports Ben Bella's government when *El-Hourriya* has been seized and our press conference has been banned, we answer:

'Above all, we are for the interests of the nation. We have a government. It allows Algeria, thanks to the people, to emerge from anarchy. If unfortunately this government disappeared, Algeria would face an abyss.

'We deplore attacks on liberty, which we will defend. But we do not seek a national catastrophe.

'Let the brothers of the P.B. and the government understand that anti-communist steps weaken them and weaken the country. Then the obstacles in the way of co-operation, of union and of organic unity will be removed.

'Our party sincerely and loyally participates with all its forces in the work of rebuilding Algeria. It stands amongst the most resolute forces which seek to make our country the most advanced in Africa. The workers in the towns and in the countryside, particularly the young workers, understand this fact more and more, and join our party in their hundreds.

'Our Party supports and will continue to support resolutely every action undertaken by the government to bring the country out of the situation into which colonialism has plunged it.

'The Party will do everything to see that the revolutionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie fight against the pressure and blackmail of the imperialists, who brandish a communist scarecrow and thus interfere in our internal affairs.

'The Party will do nothing to worsen its relationship with the P.B. It will do everything to improve this relationship.

'True to the principles which guided our actions over the years and which are being confirmed on a world scale, we will remain open to every new idea which is capable of moving our country forward on the path towards its total liberation and socialism, and which enable the national forces and the most revolutionary forces to advance towards organic unity.

'We will proceed with our activity in the interests of the country, and thus we will strengthen our Party, being conscious that every improvement of the Party is a step forward towards union and organic unity.

'The Algerian communists will be everywhere where there are difficult tasks to be carried out in the interests of the country. Peasants, workers and intellectuals—all will participate and assist in important and in small tasks, be it in the management committees, in the civil service or in the trade unions. We must earn by our merit the name "cadres", the name used by many patriots for our militants.

'We will prepare for the next Congress of our Party. The objectives of the Congress will be both the organisational and political improvement of the Party, as well as a concrete and enthusiastic communist contribution to the building of the country. Our comrades, workers, peasants, intellectuals, will come to the Congress to tell of their deeds in producing, in managing, in building, in nursing. They will tell of the initiatives they have taken to improve their work and the work of other patriots.

'As our Cuban comrades say: "Just as we were previously experts in propaganda and agitation, in organisation and in the guidance of struggles for the workers' demands, so today we must acquire knowledge of and master questions of economics, of the process of production and the problems of economic development."

'The Algerian communist will be synonymous with the builder and the patriot who works for unity.

'We will overcome the prejudices that certain patriots have towards us. We hope that our brothers of the P.B. of the F.L.N. will make the same efforts to know us better.

'In short, we hope that—in place of steps of coercion and pressure—a wide discussion will be opened between all Algerian patriots. This discussion will not be a diversion from the real problems, but on the contrary will enable the promoting of unity to take place on a solid basis, and uncover a basis for understanding and common action to solve these problems.

'Discussion and democracy in the framework of a common effort for reconstruction will avoid new crises. This is the best way to advance safely on the path to genuine liberation and socialism.'

'As for our Party, it cannot be banned out of existence. The Communists cannot be prevented from carrying on the struggle, from playing their part in the political life of the country, working in the mass organisations and heading them in line with the will of the working people.

'As we said in the declaration issued by our Party immediately after it was banned, we believe in the political maturity of our people, and especially of the working class. We are confident that the Communist Party will, in one way or another, regain its legal status and become stronger.

'The Algerian revolution is a long way from being completed. The Communists, despite the ban, will continue to support the progressive measures of the government. Repudiating sectarianism, they will continue to fight for a genuine alliance of all the country's forces, in order to ensure our country's advance along the path of progress, democracy, and eventually socialism.'

From an interview with a leading member of the Algerian Communist Party, shortly after the decision of the Algerian government to ban the Party.

The problem of the character of the state in newly independent countries and especially the problem of one-party states in Africa is becoming a matter of profound interest throughout the world and more so in Africa itself.

Which way is African political development going? Is the one-party state a step forward or backward? And how do Marxists see their own position and the status of their own parties in relation to single-party states where they are not the main or ruling parties?

This article, by a writer whose articles have appeared in these columns from time to time, is the first of a series of discussion articles on this matter, which will be continued in the next issue.

Contributions from readers are invited.

THE ONE PARTY STATE

In the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism in Africa

B. PELA

IS THE TENDENCY towards single-party Government in Africa's independent states in the interests of the people's struggle for democracy and socialism?

A debate is raging throughout independent Africa in regard to this question. That it is not a question for armchair discussion alone is sharply brought home by the action of the Government of independent Algeria in banning the Communist Party of Algeria on the grounds that there is room for only *one* party in Algeria, and that is the F.L.N. The question is assuming a character of vital importance to all classes and sections of the people interested in advancing to a democratic and socialist Africa.

Like many other problems facing the African liberation movement, the question of the one-party state is complex and many-sided. There is not one simple solution to the problem applicable for all African countries, whatever their history, structure or stage of social development. It is necessary to examine the concrete circumstances in each country and to avoid applying a rigid formula to it. At the same time there are some common features of the problem which cause difficulty, and my purpose here is to highlight some of these common features and express a few opinions on them.

How Widespread is the Tendency to a One-party State?

The independent and semi-independent states of Africa provide examples of various types of party system. There are one-party systems, where the ruling party is the party of a privileged ruling class, such as Liberia. On the other hand, there are one-party systems in which the single ruling party is a mass party enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, such as Guinea and Mali. There are other countries in which there is a two-party system but one of these parties is dominant and enjoys great mass support, such as Ghana and Tanganyika. There are also countries with multi-party systems, like Nigeria. Finally, there are independent states in which political parties have not emerged (Ethiopia), or where all parties have been suppressed (Libya, the Sudan).

These patterns are continually changing and there certainly is no 'uniform' pattern, nor could there be one owing to the different stages of economic and social development and the historical and cultural differences between various countries. At the same time a tendency is noticeable in certain countries, such as Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Guinea, Mali, Ghana and Tanganyika, towards one-party dominance. This tendency is particularly pronounced where the dominant party is a powerful mass party, expressing the popular will. In certain circumstances such a party formally declares its monopoly of power by causing all other parties and factions to be declared illegal. For example, the recent annual Conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) asked its Government to give statutory recognition to the one-party system in Tanganyika.

Can the One-party System be Democratic?

This tendency is condemned by bourgeois liberals. For example, Dr. Jay Blumler, a tutor in political theory in Ruskin College, Oxford, states in an article in *Socialist Commentary* (an unofficial British Labour Party publication) that the one-party system is undemocratic. Others, like Dr. Rita Hinden, ask whether there can really be any guarantee of 'freedom of opposition' within a single-party state. Dr. Hinden suggests that because alternative parties are ruled out fundamental liberties will wither away.

Several Africal statesmen, on the other hand, have quite correctly shown that an 'opposition' political party is not an essential attribute of democracy.

Julius K. Nyerere has pointed out that the two-party system in some capitalist countries is like a football match in which a spirit of artificial rivalry is created:

> 'A football match may, of course, attract some very able players: it may also be entertaining, but it is still only a game, and only the most ardent fans (who are not usually the most intelligent) take the game very seriously. This, in fact, is not unlike what has happened in many so-called democratic countries today, where some of the most intelligent members of society have become disgusted by the hypocrisy of the party games called politics, and take no active interest in them . . . ' (*Spearhead,* Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 1963).

Nyerere has provided many examples to prove that where one party enjoys overwhelming mass support, a two-party system actually curbs democratic discussion and decision. On the other hand, a single party, enjoying the support of the people, can extend the democratic debate which goes on inside its own ranks to the people as a whole: it can build a wide machinery of public discussion, like meetings, newspapers, trade unions, youth and women's movements etc. and encourage criticism of high and low alike.

In fact, the 'two-party' system, which is now offered as a model to African countries, is a part of the whole pretence of so-called 'Western democracy'. In even the most democratic capitalist countries Parliament is a mere talking shop. In the periodic elections to this body the 'common people' are given the choice between two opposing capitalist parties. The real essence of this choice was aptly summed up by V. I. Lenin in his work THE STATE AND REVOLUTION:

> 'To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people in Parliament—that is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.'

The only reason for creating such a two-party system in African countries is—in the words of Nyerere—'the desire to imitate the political structure of a totally dissimilar society. What is more, the desire to imitate where conditions are not suitable for imitation can easily lead us into trouble.'

African Society Today

Imitation can be very harmful, particularly when one takes into account that the structure and stage of development of various

African countries is different from that in many other parts of the world.

In a number of the newly independent countries of Africa we find existing side by side as many as four stages of human society. We find elements of primitive communism which are expressed in common land ownership, tribalism and tribal practices. We find some remnants of a kind of family slavery, which is still prevalent in some areas, despite its formal abolition. There are feudal relations in various forms and stages. And there are capitalist relations of production, both between local African capitalists and African wage workers, and between foreign capitalists and the working class. Of course, the old pre-capitalist societies are breaking down and wage labour and the development of cash crops are becoming the major forms of economic activity. It is in these conditions that the transition to socialism has to take place.

What is important in regard to the growth of political parties in Africa is precisely the fact that so many stages of society exist side by side. For example, tribalism is an acute problem in some countries. It gives rise to tribal parties, and within some national political organisations inter-tribal rivalries are disruptive and cause splits from time to time. So, in Northern Rhodesia, the A.N.C. appears to be based mainly on the Tonga tribe and the U.N.I.P. largely on the Bemba, Ngoni and Losi tribes. In the Congo, tribal struggles have caused tremendous difficulties for those seeking a broad national unity in the fight against imperialism. Very often there lies behind the political arguments a tribal conflict. Some tribes are more conservative than others, more 'tribal' in their thinking and in their methods of struggle. Other tribes, particularly those in which the men are forced into wage labour in the service of the foreign capitalists, are more advanced and revolutionary in their aims and methods of struggle.

These tribal conflicts are often an important reason for the growth of single-party Government as a means of building unity out of diversity, and a modern nation out of many tribes.

Again, the structure of many African societies today is one in which clearly distinguished modern classes are only in the process of taking shape. This has led some African leaders to the erroneous conclusion that there are *no* classes in Africa and hence no need for separate parties to express the interests of each class. Of course, there are classes. But the two main classes of modern times—the capitalists and the workers—are in the process of formation in a number of African countries. While there is a small core of full-time industrial workers, most African workers are migratory labourers, spending part of their lives as peasants and part as wage workers. The overall tendency is for the number of regular, stable wage workers to grow, but the situation is a fluid one. Only now, when imperialism's political grip on Africa is being weakened, is a local capitalist class becoming of much importance. Here, too, the situation is fluid, with richer peasants and traders becoming capitalists, and so on.

In this situation it is not surprising that so few independent parties of a particular class have come into being. There are only a few working-class parties in Africa, and, quite naturally, these parties have usually emerged where there is a relatively stable working class. At the same time, although many of the mass parties in Africa are under bourgeois leadership, they are not typical 'capitalist' parties in the sense we have come to know such parties in Europe and North America. The African mass parties, besides reflecting the interests of certain local capitalists, also express the interests of workers, peasants and intellectuals, in the common struggle of all these classes against their common enemy—imperialism.

This, too, helps to explain the tendency to a single party system. Looked at from these points of view, single-party Government can be justified as being in the interests of the people.

Unity in the Common Struggle

There is a real, deep-seated desire for unity among many of the protagonists of the one-party system. They appeal to all other parties to dissolve themselves in a broad national front of the people. The aims of this front are variously said to be to oppose imperialism and neo-colonialism, to build democrary and to create a socialist society.

Indeed, the unity of the people is absolutely essential if any of these aims is to be achieved. This unity may be organisationally cemented in a single 'national front' or 'national movement' or 'Congress' composing all the classes fighting for the victory of a particular stage of the revolution. This 'front', in turn, may enter into more limited or temporary alliances with other organisations and individuals at particular times for particular purposes.

Moreover, when such a 'national front' has the power of State in its hands it may be forced to suppress those parties which want to put the clock back and restore colonialism or take the capitalist path. It will suppress rival political organisations, not for the reason that 'in principle' there should be only one political party, but because of the actual deeds of those who disrupt national unity.

Some people falsely accuse the Communists of believing 'in principle' in the one-party system, and of suppressing all political parties other than their own. This is not only shown to be false by the actual conditions in various countries where the Communists are the ruling party and in which other parties are allowed to function, but by the behaviour of the Bolsheviks in Russia, in regard to other political parties. Those parties which stood for the armed power of the capitalist and landlord minority were suppressed in November 1917, never to reappear. Those parties which called themselves 'socialist' continued after the Revolution, and one of them, the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, was in coalition with the Bolsheviks until March 1918. Only when these so-called 'socialists' backed the counter-revolution were they suppressed.

In the long run these parties disintegrated, not because they were declared illegal, but because their programmes appealed primarily to the economic interests of the various groups of small capitalists, who wanted some form or another of 'mixed' or partly capitalist economy. The more the Bolsheviks' policy of social ownership of the means of production proved to be correct and successful, the less and less appeal could such parties have. That is why they proved unable to maintain their illegal political organisations in Russia, and why in the Soviet Union today there is only one political party.

But does 'unity' mean only one political party? The parties which were suppressed and which died out in the Soviet Union were the parties of the counter-revolution: the parties which put an obstacle in the way of building socialism in that part of the world. Surely there can be no reason for suppressing a party which, far from hindering the advance to socialism, is absolutely indispensable if socialism is to be built, if Africa is to bypass the capitalist stage of development and create a happy and prosperous future for its people? Moreover, although such a party can be declared illegal, it cannot be suppressed indefinitely because it represents what is new and growing in African society. To suppress a party of revolutionaries who have given the greatest sacrifices in the struggle for freedom, and who are capable of leading the revolution forward to democracy and socialism, such as the Algerian Communist Party, is not in the interests of the people. It can only benefit the imperialists and reactionaries.

What Kind of Party?

It is this consideration which leads us to ask: What kind of party do the people of African countries need to lead them to victory?

Here we must consider what are the new forces in African society? Which of the classes in Africa has the deepest interest in carrying the revolution through to a victorious conclusion by leading the people to national democracy and socialism?

Although there are only about 15 million wage workers in Africa, many, if not most, of whom are migratory labourers, it is this class which is rapidly growing in size, in experience, in the course of revolutionary struggles. More than any other, this class feels the brunt of colour bars and national oppression. The workers come into direct conflict with the capitalists, and are being instilled with a spirit of unity, and discipline.

All this gives the African workers the mission of leading Africa to freedom.

The workers cannot fulfil this role merely by proclaiming themselves as 'leaders', but by actually building their own political party. The task of their party is to lead the workers and through the working class to lead all the masses of working people.

A party cannot claim the right to lead the people just because it is 'socialist'. Besides waging a consistent, active and revolutionary struggle to change society, it has to be guided by a scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism. This is the only theory which has proved capable of charting the course for the transition to socialism. Unless there are sufficient Marxist-Leninist cadres participating in the people's struggles, the advance to socialism will be slow and unstable. Socialism in Africa is unthinkable without Marxist-Leninists and without Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Need of Today

While stressing the need for Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class in Africa, we must be careful not to adopt a dogmatic or rigid approach as to how such parties can best be built up, and how they should set about leading the masses.

In some countries there are good reasons for the immediate establishment of independent Communist parties. This is the case where the other parties are completely controlled by the capitalists, who are blocking the advance of the working-class and progressive forces who belong to the party. In such a situation the class struggle is bound to become more acute and there can be no hope of placing such a party on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Whatever the difficulties, Marxist-Leninist cadres will see the need to start a Communist Party and to build it into a party enjoying the support of the masses.

On the other hand, there are some African countries where it may be possible to convert existing mass parties into united parties of the socialist revolution: parties in which the working class can be strengthened and Marxism-Leninism can be accepted as the basis of its actions. Where such possibilities exist it could be very harmful for Communists to start forming separate parties. Rather the emphasis should be to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to build a Marxist core within the mass parties and to strengthen the mass parties by strengthening the working class within it. The possibility cannot be excluded that at a certain stage capitalist or petty-bourgeois elements may capture complete control of a mass party, and, in such circumstances it may become necessary to form a separate Communist Party. But to do so before conditions are ripe for it can only lead to the discrediting of Communism.

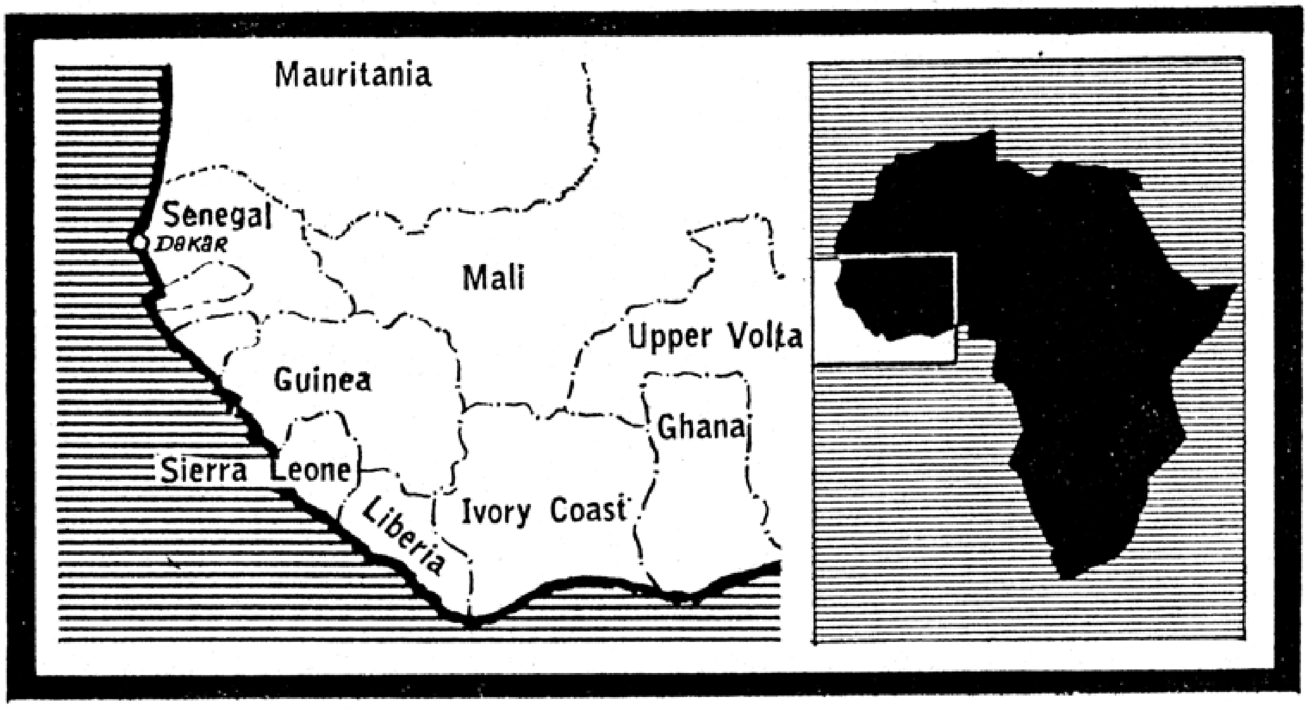
However, a single party without a Marxist-Leninist ideological basis will not succeed in leading the advance to socialism. For that reason it is wrong to ask a Marxist-Leninist party to submerge itself and lose its identity within a broad national movement, representing many different classes and composed of people of many ideologies.

The need of today is to drive the last imperialists out of Africa, to oppose the neo-colonialist tricks of the Western powers, to bring about real economic independence on the basis of a non-capitalist path of development. To achieve this it is both possible and necessary to unite all patriotic and progressive forces. If these forces are compelled to join a single party where conditions are not ripe for it, the results will be disastrous: instead of unity there will be splits. In such circumstances unity will be better served by respecting the autonomy of separate organisations which work together in a broad national front.

SENEGAL
AND THE AFRICAN PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE

MORE THAN TWO years have passed since, aided by the intrigues of French imperialism, the Republic of Senegal broke away from the Mali Federation. Since then, Mali has gone forward to strengthen her independence and raise living standards, moving towards national democracy and economic development. But under President Leopold Senghor and his former Premier, Mamadou Dia, the two and a half million people of Senegal suffered and stagnated. French capitalists retain key economic assets in their hands and Dakar swarms with French political and military 'advisers'. By means of all sorts of 'special agreements' de Gaulle's new Empire keeps Senegal under its influence and control. Senegal's jails are full of patriots, held as political prisoners: elections are rigged: independent workers' organisations are outlawed.

Last December, the growing crisis between Senghor and Dia came to a head. Rivalry between President and Premier had steadily been



growing. Until December, Dia had been sure of a majority in the National Assembly, Senegal's Parliament, which had been 'elected' in conditions where opposition was outlawed and hand-picked supporters of Senghor and Dia assured of office. But once the opportunistic 'unity' between the two leaders was breached, each began seeking support among the M.P.S. A crisis was reached when Senghor won over Mr. Valdodio, leader of the influential Parliamentary section representing the peanut planters of Sixe Saloux. This victory deprived Premier Dia of his former safe Parliamentary majority.

Dia responded with an attempted *coup d'etat*. On December 17, at noon, detachments of police and the National Guard entered the Palace of the National Assembly. But this *coup* failed. President Senghor placed the army under his own direction. He got the support of the Woulof tribes, to which he belongs, arrested his Premier and instituted a regime of personal power—something he has wanted to do for a long time.

SENGHOR'S 'SOCIALISM'

Both Senghor and—before his downfall—Dia have long claimed to be 'socialists', and to be taking what they call 'the African road to socialism'.

It is plain that this so-called socialism has nothing in common with scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. Senghor denies the existence of classes in Senegal, and declares that his is a 'lyrical, existential and Negro-African socialism'. Dia, it is true, visited the socialist countries last year and concluded trade and other agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia. (Senghor, incidentally, has undertaken to respect these agreements.) But Dia told Parliament: 'Private capital should spontaneously accept nationalisation . . . we do not envisage any other process of nationalisation.' And the Senghor-Dia Constitution expressly prohibits nationalisation without compensation.

As the Programme of Senegal's African Party of Independence (P.A.I.—Parti Africain de l'Independence) correctly points out:

> '. . . in a period when socialism has become a triumphant doctrine, the Senegalese bourgeoisie, in order to trick the masses . . . preaches its pretended "African socialism" or "the African road to socialism". They are nothing but populists when they tackle peasant problems and timid reformists in all other matters. They talk of socialising the countryside without the towns: they claim to be "nationalising" foreign interests because they will only permit foreign investment within the

> framework of a self-styled plan: they talk similarly about planning production—which essentially cannot be planned because of its capitalist and anarchic nature.
>
> 'This "socialism", which safeguards the interests of the local bourgeoisie and the foreign bourgeoisie, is nothing more nor less than an African form of capitalism belonging to the neo-colonialist era.'

A serious blow to the demagogic socialist talk of Senghor and his like in Senegal has been struck by the untiring efforts of the P.A.I. itself to bring the truth about socialism to the masses of Senegal's workers, peasants and intellectuals, and in particular by the publication of the Party Programme. This programme was adopted by the First Congress of the P.A.I., held in February, 1962. It contains a searching Marxist-Leninist analysis of the conditions and problems of the country, and, by means of its clear-cut explanations and demands, profoundly rooted in African realities, it completely exposes the shallowness of the claims of Senghor and his like to have discovered the 'African road to socialism'. This title, indeed, could far more properly be applied to the Programme of the P.A.I. itself, which is a document of absorbing interest to Marxists and patriots throughout our continent.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN SOCIETY

The Programme begins with some brief but pithy comments on the development of African society. Like the people of all human societies, African society has gone through several stages of development—primitive communal society, patriarchal slave society and feudal society. As a result of the penetration of foreign imperialism, the capitalist system has rooted itself everywhere, superseding the older economic systems, introducing money, trade, wage-labour, taxation, etc.

However, though following the same broad main lines of development as Europe or Asia, African society in former French Africa follows certain 'secondary laws of development' which are peculiar and characteristic. Though capitalism is the prevailing system, there are many survivals of pre-capitalist systems and relations, the forms of transition from former systems to capitalism varying from one territory to another.

In many, communal structures persist, as well as traces of a patriarchal type of slavery. One finds elements of different social systems existing together and interlocking with one another. Because capitalism arose from outside intervention, and also because of the penetration of non-African elements as traders and middle-

THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE AFRICAN PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The P.A.I. Congress adopted a vigorous resolution on solidarity with South Africa.

It attacks the 'reactionary apartheid policy' of the Verwoerd government as 'reducing the Africans of South Africa to the humiliating level of slaves and beasts of burden in the service of the "white overlords".' The government 'ignores the most elementary demands of the large black majority and tramples their rights underfoot'.

The resolution considers this policy 'an open provocation to the peoples of Africa and a scathing insult to the dignity of every African. . . . On a wider field the reactionary policy of the South African government constitutes a challenge to international opinion and a menace to peace.' France, Britain, the United States, Portugal and Spain are bitterly criticised for supporting Verwoerd's policy despite de Gaulle's alleged liberalism and the American government's claims to anti-colonialism.

The P.A.I. Congress demanded solidarity and effective support by other peoples of Africa for those of South Africa, and declared that support for the South African struggle by African governments has become a test of consistent anti-colonialist struggle. The resolution stated that apartheid is an international problem and requires an international solution.

It appealed to the Secretariat of the United Nations for the immediate application of the General Assembly Resolution relating to South Africa, and called on all African States and other progressive countries to take active steps against the South African government, such as economic boycott and the breaking off of diplomatic relations. These countries should demand the exclusion of the racialist South African government from the United Nations and all international bodies, in respect for the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

men, the African bourgeoisie is weak and dependent on foreign imperialism. This gives the governing section of the African capitalist class a bureaucratic and 'parliamentarist' character. Artificially sustained by imperialism, to which it is closely allied, this class 'distinguishes itself by its total lack of national consciousness'.

The working class, which has arisen mainly on the basis of foreign investment, is young, slow in developing class consciousness, and has close ties with the peasants.

In analysing African society, the Programme points out, it would be wrong to overlook the importance, at present and in future, of these 'secondary laws' which operate as a result of African history and French imperialist influence. But it would also be wrong to overemphasise them, to forget that they are secondary and not fundamental.

Capitalist infiltration has led to the reconstruction of African society. Side by side with pre-capitalist classes, such as peasantry, feudal lords and artisans, we find the new classes—the urban working class, rural working class, petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, in the newly-independent countries, is in power, but 'because of its artificial and recent creation by French imperialism it has not yet completely dissociated its fate from that of imperialism'. This accounts for the 'non-national' character of the African bourgeoisie in former French Africa.

However, in the new conditions of political independence, a new process is taking place. 'A new bourgeoisie, industrial, commercial and more or less interlocked with the old, is rapidly developing. This could bring about a division in the bourgeoisie and the consequent emergence of a nationalist section. . . . It is the maturing, in our conditions, of the bourgeoisie.'

COMMON INTEREST IN LIBERATION

All classes in Senegal, including the national bourgeoisie, are subjugated and exploited to some degree by foreign imperialism. 'Therefore, fundamentally, they have a common interest in liberation—in bringing about independence and ending the imperialist system of colonialism and neo-colonialism.' This is the basis for a national united front of liberation—'the alliance of various classes and social strata' with a community of interests.

This community of interests tends to draw a veil over the fact that one section profits by exploiting another. But the fact of exploitation remains. The community of 'race', of religion, of immediate political and economic interests, does not eliminate the exploitation of farm and agricultural workers by indigenous capitalists.

'In these conditions, the alliance of various classes and social strata can only maintain itself on the basis of the predominance of the interests of the nation—of the vast majority—over the selfish interests of the minority.'

To ensure this predominance and the victory of the revolution, it is essential that the WORKING CLASS, in close alliance with the peasants, should lead. This is the most important class, from a scientific point of view. Though relatively small—it numbers a hundred thousand—in comparison with the peasants who number 80 to 90 per cent of the population—'the working class is the basis of production and the vehicle of all social progress.' Because of its concentration in the big towns, its higher cultural level, its discipline acquired in modern production and its constant growth, the working class is more suited to lead a revolution than the peasantry, which is dispersed and badly educated, poorer and—though more numerous—constantly diminishing. The bourgeoisie are unsuitable to lead, and the petty bourgeoisie and other sections, being in an easier position generally, lack the revolutionary firmness of the working class.

At the same time, to be successful, the struggle for independence and socialism must be through the alliance of the African working class and the peasants. This alliance is the foundation stone of the African revolution. It is made easier because the working class has but recently developed from amongst the peasantry and still has numerous links with them.

Until now the young Senegalese working class has lacked class consciousness: a petty bourgeois outlook has developed among the workers, many of whom hope to become middle class or capitalist proprietors. The workers should awaken themselves and organise themselves in their own party, with its own policies. They should stand up to their full height and save themselves as workers. So doing, they will save the whole country.

P.A.I. — THE WORKERS' PARTY

Until now the Senegalese working class has dissolved itself in the political organisations of other classes, which present themselves as mass movements to defend the interests of all the masses. In fact they defend only the interests of the owning classes, though these may for the time being coincide with the majority interest. But now the workers of Senegal have their own Party—the P.A.I.

'For the first time in our history, the working class experiences the birth and development of a Party of a new type, a Party of the

African working class, a Party armed with the working class theory—Marxism-Leninism.'

The P.A.I. aims at a regrouping of the working class and working peasants of Senegal, organised for the winning of political power. It is a monolithic Party, without inner factions, all of whose members observe the principles of democratic centralism, in which lower Party bodies submit to those higher, a minority submits to a majority, and the substitution of a 'prestige of authority' for the 'prestige of ideas'. The unity of the Party is cemented by the strictest possible discipline, freely consented to by all members. 'The P.A.I. will lead the Senegalese working class and our people to victory.'

Though the P.A.I. is truly, and in the first place, a Party of the workers of town and country, a Party of the poor, its ranks are open to all, including peasants, middle class and capitalist elements who accept its programme and policy. It is the Party of all 'who think and act in the immediate and long term interests of the African masses'.

TOTAL INDEPENDENCE

The immediate interests of the African masses, declares the P.A.I. Programme, can be summed up in one phrase: *total independence.*

Imperialism has had its day. The nineteenth century saw pre-monopoly capitalism transformed into the last and dying phase of capitalism—the stage of monopolies and imperialism. Imperialism, with its colonial conquests, divided up the world, including—at Berlin in 1885—Africa. In our times, imperialism has suffered one assault after another. The first phase of its crisis was opened by the first world war, followed by the rise of socialism over one-sixth of the world. A second and fatal phase of the crisis of capitalism was marked by the second world war, followed by the birth of the socialist camp, grouping together over a third of the world's population.

Since then, the impetuous development of the national liberation movements in Asia, Latin America and Africa, has known no pause. The Afro-Asian conferences at Bandung, Cairo and elsewhere allied the peoples of the two continents in the last struggle against the colonial system. The capitalist system has entered the third phase of general crisis—not arising out of a third world war, but out of major historical events. Ever becoming stronger, the world socialist system has become the deciding force in social development. The national liberation grows stronger and more profound every day, striking at the roots of imperialist domination in Asia, Africa and Latin America and hastening the break-up of colonialism, sharpening the internal contradictions of capitalism. Imperialism is adopting new methods: the sham of conceding formal independence while striving to maintain and reinforce economic mastery. But this neocolonialist policy reflects the growing weaknesses of imperialism.

In this new situation, changes inside France and the growth of Fascism there cannot check the irresistible march of the people of the former French colonies. The de Gaulle regime has not been able to halt the freedom struggle in Algeria or the Cameroons, or to solve the national problems of West and Central Africa and other former French colonies. The only solution is, now as in the past, national independence. Constitutional 'reforms' merely underline the urgency of the African national problem, following the independence of such countries as Syria, Lebanon, Vietnam, Morocco, Tunisia and Guinea.

The 'French Community' has collapsed. So has the 'Restored Community'. The former French colonies cannot be stopped on their march to complete independence. Already twelve new states have been born. But the end of colonialism in our country still calls for a desperate struggle—not only against French imperialism, but also against its partners—United States and West German neocolonialism.

OUR MINIMUM: INDEPENDENCE

It is not by chance that our Party was the first in French 'Black Africa' to uphold the demand for *independence*. Our scientific analysis led us to adopt this demand as its minimum programme. Today many mass organisations and political organisations have declared for independence, and proved the correctness of our minimum programme. The experience of Guinea, which has inspired all former French Africa to demand independence, has shown the people the value of a scientific analysis. Increasingly the people of Senegal pay tribute to and express their confidence in the P.A.I. in the remaining tasks: to win total national independence and genuine democracy.

We now see (the P.A.I. programme points out) that the demand for *political independence is not enough*. Imperialism, weakened, is always ready to cede some ground in order to cling to the rest. It cannot, today, preserve its economic interests by brute force and domination—so it is ready to delegate all or some of its powers to tame African capitalists who will be prepared to act as policemen and rent-collectors, on behalf of the French colonialists. This is the essence of neo-colonialism, the restored 'Franco-African Community'.

All the same, the winning of political independence—especially if it is accompanied by democratic reforms, means a great step forward compared with colonialism. Even though it does not solve the problems of water, food, clothing and housing, it is still an advance, an important goal to aim at.

But political independence is not the same as economic independence. There is no freedom for man if he is not free to be a man. The fight for political independence is useful and necessary to the extent that it prepares for and leads to economic independence. To enjoy the fruits of political independence, the levers of economic power must be seized. This is a serious struggle. If the imperialists already resist the advance of the African people to political independence, it is clear that they will stop at nothing to hold up our economic independence. But, if we are to be free to enjoy our human and material resources, the soil and the wealth beneath it, we must enjoy economic independence. The wealth is ours: we must safeguard it ourselves and for ourselves, not for foreign imperialists. Neo-colonialist organisations like Euromart, 'EurAfrica' and so on are intended to cheat us of this right. That is why total independence means economic as well as political freedom from colonialism.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE, WHAT?

The P.A.I. Programme goes on to ask the question, after winning full independence how shall we look after our country's welfare?

> Must it be capitalism or socialism? Must a minority of Africans, the capitalists, take everything that is produced to satisfy their selfish class needs? Or should the products of our country become the property of the African people as a whole and the fruit of the people's work belong to themselves? The P.A.I. answers that the needs of the development of African society, of ending the backwardness and underdevelopment of Africa, absolutely requires that the people shall own the goods which they produce. That is why the maximum Programme of the P.A.I. is socialism.

However, this does not mean that the P.A.I. wants to transplant to Africa all sorts of practices and customs of other countries. Socialism is a science, of universal and fundamental validity. But the way in which this science is applied and the conditions in which it is applied vary from one country to another. Socialism in Africa will take into account national characteristics and historical expedience, African national customs and traditions. Indeed, socialism can only be scientific in content if, in our country, it has an African national form.

But this approach to socialism should be sharply distinguished from the empty demagogy about the 'African road to socialism' indulged in by the Senegalese bourgeoisie. 'L. S. Senghor and the protagonists of this idea . . . make use of their theory in order to intoxicate the African working class and working people, to delay class consciousness, and in this way to check the development of the only real socialism—Marxist-Leninist socialism. . . . The African worker will not free himself from exploitation until he frees himself from this theory of "the African road to socialism".'

FOR A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Taking into account the present stage of development of the national liberation movement everywhere, and the growing strength of the socialist camp, which changes the balance of world forces in favour of the people, it is now possible to win not merely nominal and juridical independence, but genuine political and economic independence for Senegal. The creation of a national democratic State of Senegal is now on the order of the day. The P.A.I. Programme proceeds to state the minimum requirements for a Democratic Republic of Senegal, which though democratic does not have to be a socialist state. The Republic should:

(1) be totally independent, accepting no foreign bases on its soil and no treaties which impair its sovereignty: maintaining diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with all countries without discrimination:

(2) take measures towards concentrating in the hands of the state the main means of production and exchange, transport, finance and trading in essential goods:

(3) guarantee democratic liberties and encourage and develop the people's creative capacities: accept the principles of the Human Rights Declaration and the United Nations Charter, and follow a foreign policy based on the interests of Africa and world peace.

AFRICAN UNITY

The P.A.I. Programme emphasises that African unity is of great importance to the future of our Continent and for its economic and cultural development: it will avoid 'the crystallisation of small states with small resources and . . . South-Americanisation' with all its consequences of economic stagnation and political instability.

Attacking the French policy of dividing their former colonial territories into a large number of newly-created 'Nations' and 'republics'—'to make permanent the artificial frontiers which they themselves had created'—the Programme comments bitterly, 'thus, neo-colonialism transforms itself into neo-balkanisation'.

Without combining the complementary resources of the territories, declares P.A.I., it will be difficult to carry out the big development plans of the New Africa. 'Primitive accumulation and enlarged reproduction cannot be conceived without keeping down overheads on administration, diplomatic corps and the like, and without mobilising vast masses of people.'

Therefore the winning of African unity is an important part of our freedom struggle, and one of the fundamental aims of the P.A.I. The struggle for independence and socialism should lead to a great Union of African democratic Republics, the abolition of arbitrary frontiers, customs barriers and all other barriers to the free circulation of goods and people.

DETAILED PROPOSALS

Having set forth the general analysis and principles of its Programme, the P.A.I. proceeds to put forward a large number of detailed demands for a fully democratic Constitution, guaranteeing civil liberties, a people's army, proper education, workers' rights, agrarian reform and the welfare of peasants, fishermen and stockbreeders, office workers, businessmen, students, women, the youth and other sections.

A major programme of nationalisation, industrialisation, agricultural development and planning will aim to raise the people's living standards and consolidate Senegal's independence.

A special section of the Programme deals with the need for the Democratic Republic of Senegal to encourage national culture and languages. It proposes the Africanisation of learning, research institutes dealing with African languages, history, geography and other matters of African interest.

Emphasis is placed on the need for women to enjoy the same rights as men, and for fields of employment to be opened up, and the provision of children's nurseries and playgrounds, to lighten housework: dispensaries and maternity homes, and the modification of African marriage and family laws.

Freedom of religion is demanded, with state assistance and subsidies to religious communities, churches, mosques, etc.

The state will encourage collective agriculture, on a voluntary basis. 'No force will be used, but demonstration, persuasion and conviction.'

FOR A UNITED FRONT OF INDEPENDENCE

The P.A.I. Programme concludes with a stirring call for the building of a United Front of Independence in Senegal.

Many organisations already exist in the country—trade unions, mass organisations of women and youth, political parties and other bodies representing various classes. All have a common immediate interest—the ending of imperialism. But it is not practical to merge all these bodies into one: what is possible and necessary is to combine their forces in a united independence front which will safeguard and define the autonomy of each partner. Thus the Programme is a powerful call for the building of national unity in the struggle for an independent Senegal, in the spirit of the Slogan of the Parti Africain de l'Independance: *Momsarev*! *Boksarev*! *Defarsarev*! (Organisation—Discipline—Struggle.)

Reporting to the First Congress, the general secretary, Comrade Majhemout Diop drew attention to fraternal messages sent to the delegates from a number of fraternal organisations. These included the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and France, the United Socialist Party of Germany, the Sudanese Union of the R.D.A. (African Democratic Rally), and the Union of Populations of Cameroon (U.P.C.).

Resolutions of the Congress show a broad spirit of proletarian internationalism, ranging from general demands for peaceful coexistence, general disarmament and the banning of nuclear arms, to expressions of solidarity with fighters against imperialism from Cuba and Vietnam, and—nearer home—in Angola, South Africa, Algeria, the Congo and elsewhere in Africa.

WIDE REPERCUSSIONS

The emergence of the Party of African Independence, with its inspiring Marxist-Leninist programme, despite the repression of the dictatorial Senghor regime is sure to have wide repercussions, not only amongst the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Senegal itself, but also throughout the former territories of French West and Central Africa—indeed everywhere on the Continent.

For a number of years prior to its first congress, the P.A.I. had won the respect and admiration of all progressive Africans for its firm and principled stand against French imperialism. The policy which it then advocated of demanding a clean break with colonialism and neo-colonialism has been amply justified during the past few years.

Now, with its new programme, which unequivocally takes its stand on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the international experience of the working class movement as expressed in the Moscow Statement and Declaration of 1957 and 1961, the P.A.I. has taken a crucial step forward. It is a tribute to the vitality and the validity of Marxist-Leninist thought, that this new programme is at the same time a thoroughly and unmistakably African document.

Like the programme of the South African Communist Party, it stands in the vanguard of the most developed and advanced African thought, pointing the way forward for our Continent and our people.

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN NATIONS

*By Lamin N'Diaye**

SINCE THE DIVISION of the world into two camps, imperialism has counted in its own camp all the countries which it dominated. But a series of upheavals—from the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions to the independence of most African countries, and including the Bandoeng Conference—have modified the world map considerably. When they won their independence, some countries refused to take part in the imperialistic bloc, and proclaimed their solidarity with the anti-imperialists. This weakening of imperialism called forth a reaction. One of the forms of this reaction was the attempt to persuade the peoples of formerly dependent or colonial countries that the division of the world into a socialist and an imperialist camp was a matter of concern only to the industrially developed countries: and that the solidarity of the Afro-Asian camp could not possibly be anything other than a solidarity of misery, of the poor countries against the rich.

In addition, the words 'colonial' and 'dependent' were replaced in the economic and political vocabularies by a number of phrases implying that it is possible to avoid choosing between the two systems into which the world is divided. Such were the phrases 'under-developed countries', 'uncommitted nations' etc. In 1960 a book was published, which greatly extended this concept of the division of the world into rich and poor countries. Its title was 'The Proletarian Nations. In this book, M. Pierre Moussa, a French 'technocrat' and general inspector of finances, developed the thesis that the division of society into classes tends to disappear in the face of advances in science and industry: and that the main differences between men is to be found in differences between nations, between 'poor nations' (formerly colonised and therefore under-developed,) and 'rich nations' (former colonisers, thus industrially developed,)—including both capitalist and socialist countries. The rich nations should assist the poor nations.

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* The author is a leading member of the African Party of Independence of Senegal.

Such ideas would have had only slight historical interest were it not for the fact that they have been accepted by a number of African thinkers and leaders, particularly as a basis for explaining relationships between Africa and the rest of the world. Such ideas are stressed in a book by Mamadou Dia, former president of Senegal, called 'African nations and world solidarity.' The same idea of 'proletarian nations' is also found in several speeches of President Sekou Toure.

An interesting aspect of this notion is that it implies the existence of some type of solidarity between the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, and also some similarity in the nature of the problems posed by their development: though it does not account for the main causes of their under-development, it does recognise that the main concern of the peoples is to raise their standards of living. And thus, while being a theory of the division of the world, the theory of 'proletarian nations' is presented also as a basis for solving the problems of development of backward countries. The general line proposed for the governments of such countries is as follows: that insofar as they are members of the group of misery and hunger, they should have the same attitude towards all rich countries, regardless of their social systems. This obviously justifies a policy of 'neutrality', which requires that in international organisations (U.N. and specialised agencies) and towards world organisations of workers, youth, students etc., the under-developed countries should be non-partisan.

Such neutrality in the economic field would open these countries to foreign capital of all sorts, particularly American and West German, whose entry was hitherto limited by conditions of political dependence mainly on France, Britain and Belgium. The theory was particularly evident when progressive African trade unions disaffiliated from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

But the theory has consequences not only in the field of relations between under-developed countries and the rest of the world. Internally in the under-developed countries themselves it lays the basis for the idea that there are no class differences in society. In the nations called 'proletarian' everyone is on the same plane, neither rich nor poor, neither exploiter nor exploited. All inhabitants are 'proletarians': therefore there are no classes, and no class struggle. For this theory it is not necessary that there be a union of the different groups in society for a policy of national democracy: the theory merely denies, purely and simply, that differences exist between the different elements in society, both in relation to production as well as in relation to the struggle for national liberation.

Finally, this theory serves as a guide to the unification of the capitalist countries in the systematic exploitation of the under-developed countries, especially through the creation of numerous bodies for socalled 'co-operation in assistance schemes.' It is not an accident that precisely one of the promoters of the idea of 'proletarian nations', M. Pierre Moussa, has been asked to manage banks established by U.N.O. to 'help the under-developed countries.'

What does all this mean? Firstly, that for those Africans who deny that class struggle is the driving force of history, the division into 'proletarian' and 'bourgeois' nations is attractive and comforting. Actually, various well-defined reasons (political, economic, geographic, historic) operate to promote the unity of this group of countries: and these very reasons too provide the possibility for forming bodies for Afro-Asian and Latin-American co-operation.

But such unity is unity for anti-imperialist action, as is clearly stated by such leaders as Toure, Nasser, Nkrumah, Soekarno and Norodam Sihanouk, especially during the 15th (1960) session of U.N. This unity of action has revealed itself on different occasions, on such international matters as disarmament and colonialism, and on every occasion has taken the form of a struggle against imperialism. It is such effects as these that imperialism is trying to minimise and eventually abolish through the theory of 'proletarian nations'. Insofar as their anti-imperialist positions bring the peoples of Africa and Asia closer to the socialist camp, imperialism tries to counter practical solidarity by spreading the myth of 'Soviet imperialism', and by attributing similar aims to all developed countries whether they be capitalist or socialist.

It cannot be denied that imperialism has succeeded in thus convincing some African leaders, particularly in the Congo: and it must be asked whether this is not also the source of certain hesitations in other countries. It would appear that, in all these areas, insufficient attention has been given to the cause of under-development—which is colonial exploitation. But if attention had been given, it would have become clear that colonial exploitation was imposed by certain countries only, and only through the action of a particular class in those countries—the bourgeoisie—who were at the same time exploiting other social classes within their own countries.

Consequently, if the notion of 'proletarian peoples' could have any meaning, it could only cover—within this single phrase—all the workers exploited by the entire bourgeoisie of the world. This is precisely the meaning of Marx and Engels historic appeal: 'Workers of all lands, unite!'

But this is not the meaning generally intended by the phrase 'proletarian nations', which remains so vague that it is still possible for certain people to put it forward as a progressive idea, for two reasons: the first is the numerical weakness of the African proletariat and the comparative newness of its organisations, the positive role played by the intelligentsia and the professional people amongst the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle for independence, and the identity of interests between all sections of the people during the anti-colonialist struggle. All this blurred the objective differences between classes and gave rise to the idea of a homogeneous people, all equally poor or 'proletarian'.

The second reason is the weakness of the African bourgeoisie themselves, in relation to the imperialist bourgeoisie. This weakness enables the local bourgeoisie to obscure the part it itself is playing in holding back the national economic advance in the interests of imperialism.

It would seem therefore that the ideological work of the progressives in Africa will increasingly be driven to denounce the ties between the pro-imperialist African bourgeoisie and the monopolists in the field of ideas and theories: and, on the other hand, to ideologic unity and unity in struggle between the African workers and the workers of the whole world, on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The theory of 'proletarian nations' in fact enables us to do so, for it reveals clearly that bourgeois ideology has parallel faces in the capitalist world and amongst bourgeois circles in the under-developed countries.

On one side, in the West, the notion of 'bourgeois nations' attempts to prove that the workers are not proletarians, do not have demands to make of the bourgeoisie, are not interested in international workers' solidarity, and do not have to fight for socialism since it cannot bring them anything more. It is thus an appeal to class collaboration. But it is also an attempt to make people believe that the individual human consequences of capitalism are at least equal to those of socialism.

On the other side, in the under-developed countries, the parallel notion of 'proletarian nations' is an appeal for class collaboration between the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and the working class. It is an invitation to end the struggle for total political and economic liberation, to cut off all contact with the working class in the capitalist countries, and to avoid the choice between capitalist or non-capitalist courses of development.

Nevertheless, in both cases this is not an offensive but a defensive theory: its aim is to spread confusion, and to divert the attention of the peoples from the astonishing achievements of the socialist countries—both those previously highly industrialised and those previously extremely backward. Is this, then, not a confirmation of the theses of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in regard to the inevitably decadent nature of imperialist ideology, which has nothing whatsoever to offer the people either in the moral field or in the field of the economy?

RIGHT-WING LABOUR AND AFRICA

by a Special Correspondent

AT THE PRESENT stage in the development of Africa's struggle for independence the Social Democrat Parties of Western Europe have become particularly active in building up contacts in Africa and in working to influence the thinking and activities of African national parties and leaders. The Socialist International leaders have had many discussions on Africa—though their deliberations are kept largely secret from the rank and file members of their own parties and equally from the African people. Special delegations of Social Democrats have visited Africa—and again their reports have, in the main, remained the property of the Social Democrat leaders.

A key role in all this activity is being played by the British Labour Party leaders who have sent their own delegations and fact-finding missions to Africa—yet again without publishing their reports. The British Labour Party leaders are working hard to create the impression that they are 'the friends of the African people', and that their concern with Africa is motivated by a selfless desire to assist the African people.

It is therefore useful and timely to trace the record of the British Labour Party leaders on African affairs over the past few decades, to examine the theories they have advanced at different stages, to see to what extent their practice has measured up to their theories, and, above all, to trace the evolution of their policy in a period which has witnessed the onset of the disintegration of colonialism and the emergence of neo-colonialism as a major feature of present-day imperialist policy.

In the year 1900 the Fabian Society (the ideological parents of the Labour Party in Britain) published a manifesto entitled *Fabianism and the Empire* in which it argued that the division of the world amongst the 'Great Powers'—i.e. the imperialist states —was 'a matter of fact that must be faced' and it was now 'only

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This article by a British Marxist, though not necessarily reflecting the views of THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, affords an interesting insight into the problems raised. Comment from our readers is invited.

a question of time' before this partition was completed. It then drew the conclusion that 'whether England is to be the centre and nucleus of one of those Great Powers of the future, or to be cast off by its colonies, ousted from its provinces and reduced to its old island status, will depend on the ability with which the Empire is governed is a whole'.

The significance of this policy declaration, its open proclamation in favour of retaining government over 'the Empire . . . as a whole' becomes particularly obvious when considered in relation to Africa. In 1885, the Berlin Conference of the Western European Powers, with the United States present as an approving observer, decided on their division of the African continent. In the ensuing two decades their forces moved in from the coastal areas until, despite heroic African resistance against armies equipped with modern weapons, practically the whole of Africa fell under the heel of the imperialists. According to figures compiled by A. Supan and reproduced approvingly by Lenin in his work on *Imperialism,* over 90 per cent of Africa was divided up by the Western powers by 1900. In that year, too, the first Pan-African Conference was held in London, and the banner of African unity and freedom was unfurled.

Here then, was a major field of battle—Africa. And here, too, were the main contenders already in the field: on the one side, the imperialists who had carried through their forcible carve-up of Africa—on the other, the African and West Indian representatives who had begun the struggle for the reconquest of African independence. But the Fabians, the ideological guardians of the early Social Democrat movement, were openly declaring the necessity to accept this division of Africa as 'a fact that must be faced', and from that drawing the conclusion **not to join the people of Africa to throw off the imperialist yoke, but to join the imperialists in order to ensure that England remain 'the centre and nucleus of one of those Great Powers of the future'.**

This policy of 'labour imperialism' has remained, in essence, the policy of the Right-wing Labour leaders to this very day.

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In the period up to the first world war the Labour Party leaders made no real challenge to the British ruling class on colonial matters: on the contrary, they went the full road of betrayal in 1914-1918 and fully backed British imperialism in the war: and later, when the first Labour Government took office in 1924, it pursued in practice a policy towards the colonies that differed in no wise from that of the Tories. This Government, admittedly, was only in office for a few months, but the second Labour Government, 1929-1931, revealed only too clearly the face of imperialism behind the mask of right-wing Labour.

In fact, the general record of the second Labour Government on colonial questions was as bad as that of any other twentieth century government in Britain, India being a particular scene of imperialist brutality and tyranny. In Africa, the imperialist policy of drowning in blood the efforts of the people to rid themselves of their foreign oppressors—or even their attempts to organise for better conditions—continued. Tory or Labour Government—to the people of Africa there was no difference. When the seamen of Bathurst, Gambia, for example, struck towards the end of 1929, they were attacked by armed police and forty workers were wounded by rifle-fire. Far from condemning this action by the Colonial police, the Labour Government sought to defend it. Similarly, when miners at the Ariston Mine in what was then the Gold Coast went on strike in 1930, they and their families were attacked and fired on by the European managers and their staffs: five Africans were killed and ten wounded. On this occasion, too, the Labour Government showed scant sympathy for the African miners and did nothing to condemn—let alone punish—the European management. This kind of treatment was more or less the standard behaviour of the Second Labour Government towards Africa. Generally speaking, it was content to leave things in the hands of the Colonial Office and the Colonial officials on the spot, who naturally carried on as before, ensuring the continuation of conditions that would allow the maximum exploitation of the African peole and of their resources in the interests of British monopolies.

In the eight or nine years before the Second World War, when the Labour Party was the official Opposition, it failed to make any effective challenge to Tory imperialism. Basically its line remained that of the Fabian Manifesto of 1900, namely to maintain 'the Empire . . . as a whole'. Any changes in the tactics or propaganda of the Labour leaders in this period were simply a reflex to the changes in tactics and methods already being adopted by the imperialists themselves. When the Tory imperialist dog moves, its right-wing Labour tail follows. Thus, when the Tories, owing to the growth in the anti-imperialist movements in Asia, the West

Indies and Africa, began to accompany their crude dictatorial methods with empty talk about 'trusteeship', 'responsibility to backward peoples', 'preparation for self-government' and so forth, the Labour leaders did the same. Never did they declare in favour of immediate independence for the colonial peoples. At the most, they would make some platitudinous remark about 'self-government' at some future date.

In this period there was little, if anything, to distinguish official Labour policy from the paternalistic line of the Tories. Even as late as 1944, in the National Executive Committee Report to the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, in a document entitled 'The International Post-War Settlement', the Labour leaders declared: 'In all colonial territories the first aims of the administration must be the well-being and education of the native inhabitants: their standard of life and health: and their preparation for self-government without delay."

Thus, once again the peoples of Africa and Asia were fobbed off with paternalistic references to 'well-being and education' and to talk about 'preparation' for self-government. Even the reference to this being achieved 'without delay' was a deliberate piece of deceit—for when the Labour Government took over in 1945 it refused to grant independence to India which was clamouring for it. It took the Indian naval mutiny of 1946 and the mass upheavals of the following months to compel the Labour Government to retreat and concede political independence. In Africa, however, the promise of 'self-government without delay'—not yet *independence*, it should be noted—meant nothing to the Labour Government. During its period of office, from 1945 to 1950, and 1950 to 1951—*the Labour Government did not grant independence to a single African colony*. On the contrary, its record was one of increased repression in the best traditions of Tory Governments. This, in fact, was a period in which there took place some of the most ferocious attacks on the national movements and on the growing working class and trade union organisations that Africa, in all its stormy post-war history, has yet witnessed. Kenya, Nigeria, Tanganyika and Ghana were particular victims of this repression.

In 1947 a general strike broke out in Mombasa, Kenya, for higher wages and lower house rents. The strike was called by the African Workers' Federation and the Railway Staff Union, and was joined by hotel, shop and domestic workers. Here, indeed, was a chance for the Labour Government in Britain to show in practice its readiness to implement its declared aim, in the 1944 document cited above, of safeguarding the 'well-being' and the 'standard of life' of the African people. Far from doing this, however, the Colonial Office under the Labour Government acted with the same ruthlessness as under any Tory Government. Police and troops were called in, the strike was suppressed, and the President of the African Workers' Federation, Chege Kibachia, was banished without trial to a remote village in Northern Kenya.

In September of the same year a strike took place at the Uplands Bacon Factory. Again police were called in. The workers were fired on and three of them were killed: 22 workers were arrested, 20 of them being sentenced to two years' hard labour.

In September of the following year, Makhan Singh, the Secretary of the Labour Trade Union of East Africa, organised a Cost-of-Living Conference which was attended by delegates of more than 16 trade unions and associations, representing over 10,000 African and Asian workers. Here, once again, was a good opportunity for the Labour Government to show, in practice, its sympathy for efforts to improve the 'well-being' and 'standard of life' of the people. But again the rightwing Labour leaders acted in support of imperialism, arresting Makhan Singh and issuing him with a deportation order.

So scared, in fact, was the Labour Government of the activities of the workers of Kenya to improve their conditions that throughout 1949 and 1950 new legislation was introduced into Kenya aimed at crippling working class organisation and at attacking working standards. Thus there was a wage-freezing Bill, the Compulsory Trade Testing and Wage Fixing Scheme: a Trade Union Registration Ordinance, to control the trade unions: a 'Slave Labour' Bill (as the workers called it) which introduced forced labour at starvation rates of pay: a Deportation Ordinance giving additional powers to the Government: legislation outlawing strikes in 'essential services' and giving the Governor power to declare any strike illegal by adding to the schedule of 'essential services'; and amendments to the Emergency Powers Ordinance, granting sweeping powers to the Governor.

Armed with these laws the Government in Kenya launched a series of attacks on the trade union movement, arresting the leaders of the East African Workers' Federation and of the East African T.U.C. and eventually banning the latter body on the 'legal' ground that it was not registered.

Nigeria suffered in the same way. An outstanding example of the treatment meted out to the African workers by the British Labour Government was the shooting down of the coal miners at Enugu in 1949. The 7,500 miners had come out on strike for higher pay to raise their 'standard of life' which the Labour leaders had claimed to favour—but once again the African workers were met by fierce police fire, resulting in the deaths of 21 miners with a further 50 wounded. And when, in protest against the shootings, the whole nation demonstrated, they, too, were met by repression and mass arrests.

In Tanganyika, too, the strikes in Port Tanga in 1948 and in Dar-es-Salaam in 1950 were repressed. And when the Dar-es-Salaam dockers struck in 1950, the Dock Workers' Union was outlawed and the entire leadership arrested, all of them being given prison sentences of one and a half to ten years. All the funds and property of the union were confiscated by the Government. Another Tanganyikan union, the African Cooks' and Washermen's Union, was crippled during the same period when the government removed the leadership on the grounds that it was 'unsatisfactory'.

Ghana, too, saw the arrests of strikers, as well as the shooting down of the demonstration of unemployed ex-servicemen in 1948. When, at the height of the struggle for independence in 1949 and 1950 the people of Ghana organised a general strike, the Government responded by mass arrests. Among those arrested were Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders who are now members of the Ghana Government, or playing an important part in the new Ghana. Other British colonies in Africa suffered similar treatment.

The repression carried out by the Third Labour Government towards the working class and trade union movement of Africa was paralleled in this period by their resistance to the demands of the national movements as a whole.

Such then, was the behaviour of the Third Labour Government in practice. In documents and speeches the right wing Labour leaders spoke about 'assisting' the colonial people, of 'preparing them for self-government'. In a speech on July 29, 1948, for example, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech Jones, stated that there would be no attempt 'to exploit native labour'. But the suppression of the efforts of the workers of Kenya, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Ghana and others to resist this very exploitation shows only too well the yawning gap between promise and practice. In office the right-wing labour leaders revealed their true colours—defenders of imperialism and enemies of the African people.

Despite this record of oppression, the Labour leaders in Britain have, to some extent, been able to 'explain away' these actions to their own members, relying in part on the curtain of silence which the press in Britain has put around these events. This has made it possible for the right wing Labour leaders to claim that they initiated a period of progress in the colonial territories during the period of the Third Labour Government.

Thus, in a statement on policy presented to the Labour Party Conference of 1949 by the National Executive Council, it is claimed that 'Labour has always denounced the old imperialism'. (Notice the reference to the 'old' imperialism, with its misleading implication that imperialism, in 1949, was somehow different or 'new'). 'We hated its brutality, its hypocrisy, its complacency.' All this, be it remembered, in 1949, the year in which, under a Labour Government, miners were shot down and killed in Enugu for demanding higher wages! Where, then, was the 'denunciation of the old imperialism'? Where was 'the hatred of brutality'? And as for talk of 'hypocrisy and complacency', could there be any more striking example than these smooth words of syrup contrasted with the sharp crack of rifle-fire in Enugu, the falling bodies, the moans of the dying and wounded?

But worse is to come, for the statement, after adding that the targets of the Labour Party's hatred included 'its ruthless or wasteful exploitation of poor and ignorant peoples for motives of private gain' then claims: 'Before the war these evil methods had begun to give way to ideals of responsibility and trusteeship.'

The Labour leaders who penned this document knew only too well that before the war Britain was ruled over by a reactionary Tory Government under the premiership first of Stanley Baldwin and later of the Munichite and arch-appeaser, Neville Chamberlain. The Labour leaders knew, further, that in Africa, for example, even trade unions were illegal, wages were in the order of a shilling a day and all attempts by the working people to change these conditions were met by repression. They knew also that the Tory Governments of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain were out-and-out imperialist Governments carrying through the 'ruthless exploitation' of the colonial people 'for motives of private gain.' This attempt by the right-wing Labour leaders to cover up the real character of imperialism is perfectly logical if we remember that their central aim towards the colonial territories all along has been to ensure the continuance of British imperialist control and exploitation. This attitude of the Labour leaders is not based on some misguided theoretical conception but arises from the very nature of right-wing labour, from the fact that it has its economic basis in receiving financial privileges from the super-profits derived from the colonial system. As Lenin explained:

> 'The *opportunists* (social chauvinists) are working together with the imperialist bourgeoisie precisely in the direction of creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa: objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty-bourgeoisie and certain strata of the working class which have been *bribed* out of imperialist super-profits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism, into *corruptors* of the labour movement.'
>
> (*Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement.*)

Any examination of official Labour Party documents, or records of Conferences, policy declarations by the National Executive, speeches and Parliamentary statements by Labour leaders and so forth reveals hardly a word about the real nature of colonialism. At the most it is referred to as something belonging to the past. More often, however, the attempt is made to find other reasons to explain the poverty and economic backwardness of Africa or Asia.

Thus, in *Labour Believes in Britain,* a statement submitted by the National Executive Council to the 1949 Labour Party Conference, it is argued that 'The curse of poverty still weighs brutally on our fellow citizens within the Commonwealth. It is the chief obstacle to colonial progress. *It is largely due to climate, ignorance, disease, soil erosion and such-like factors.*' Admittedly the document went on to admit that 'The neglect of previous British Governments and a degree of selfish and shortsighted capitalist exploitation have also contributed to the distress afflicting many of the colonies', but it will be noticed that 'capitalist exploitation', the root cause of colonial backwardness and poverty, is put after such secondary factors as climate, ignorance, disease and soil erosion: and even then, the exploitation is not condemned but simply criticised as being 'shortsighted'—presumably from the point of view of the exploiters themselves. In other words, the Labour leaders are simply advising that the exploitation should not be so obviously 'selfish'.

* * *

In the last ten years, as the wave of national independence has mounted ever higher in Africa, the Labour leaders, now the Official Opposition once again, have modified their tactics and presentation so as to fall in line with the more fashionable, neo-colonialist phase of British imperialism. In fact, it is true to say that without the aid of the Labour leaders it would be very difficult for British imperialism to operate its neo-colonialist tactics. The backing of rightwing labour is essential both to pulling the wool over the eyes of the British people, especially the Labour Movement, and to persuading a section of the African national movements that imperialism no longer exists, that it is now anxious to assist Africa, that Africa cannot exist without Western capital and Western know-how, that, above all, Africa should have nothing to do with the Socialist countries and should certainly have no truck with communism.

Already, by the end of the Second World War, the astute British imperialists were already preparing for the new problems arising. They realised that they needed new tactics to divide the growing national movements in Africa, to remove militant leaderships from national and trade union organisations, to seek out and win over individuals and sections who would be more pro-Western, more 'co-operative', more 'reasonable' and so on. Thus, under the 1945-1950 Labour Government the introduction took place of the new trade union system in Africa—namely the legal recognition of trade unions on the basis of compulsory registration and government control, the removal of militant leaderships, the disbandment of unions and even trade union confederations or congresses where these were not prepared to collaborate with imperialism, and their replacement by recognised trade unions led by men who might be more ready to abandon the struggle, and ensure that the workers did not concern themselves with 'politics'.

Similarly, towards the African national movements, the Labour leaders, whether in office or in Opposition, followed the new imperialist tactic. Force and repression were still used when thought necessary, but alongside this, as they were forced to retreat by the growing strength of the movement, the imperialists, with the approval of the labour leaders, sought to establish a slow timetable of stages—nominated African members in Legislative Councils, constitutional talks, elections on a limited franchise, more constitutional talks, African Ministers in imperialist-dominated governments, more constitutional talks, internal self-government, more constitutional talks or discussions, and, eventually independence.

Of course, things were rarely carried through all these stages in such mechanical fashion—but the essence of the British imperialist method in this period has been one of the slow, phased retreat, using each step backwards and each day gained as the opportunity to put fresh barriers around the national independence movement, to sow fresh divisions, to place new obstacles in its path, to store up more headaches for the movement in the future. This whole process, both in word and in deed, has had the full support of the Labour leaders.

Thus, in its pamphlet *Approach to Foreign Policy,* Labour Discussion Series No. 11, issued in 1947, the Labour Party writes: 'In theory Socialists want small nations to have the same freedom as large nations. But in practice small nations can be economically very difficult to run, and politically they are sometimes dangerous to stability.'

And unless it is not clear what countries qualify as 'small' in the political estimation of right-wing Labour, one has only to turn to a Labour Party pamphlet of June 1957, entitled *Labour's Colonial Policy: Smaller Territories,* to find that these include, in Africa, Zanzibar, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, and British Somaliland (now part of the Somali Republic).

The theory of 'small' nations, politically 'unstable' and economically 'unviable', is a pet weapon in the armoury of imperialism and right-wing labour, and is intended both to hoodwink the British people as well as to sow confusion and hesitancy within the African national movements. It serves the same aims as the 'theory' of independence 'in due course' or 'eventually'. Never do the Labour leaders come out with a clear-cut demand for immediate independence for the African states, but limit themselves completely to the slow, stalling time-table of the Colonial Office which they attempt to justify with flimsy 'arguments.' Thus, in *Labour Believes in Britain* (1949: cited above) they wrote: 'The problem presented by Britain's colonial responsibilities (sic!) is so huge that no one can expect a sudden and comfortable transition.' Even as late as 1961 one could read in the Labour Party Conference Report: 'Our ultimate aim should surely be to bring about full democracy in Northern Rhodesia . . . it was obvious that this objective would take time.'

In practice, the Labour leaders refuse completely to expose the neo-colonialist manoeuvres of British imperialism. On the contrary, they help to make their realisation possible. In the famous resolution on Neo-Colonialism adopted by the Third All-African People's Conference it is pointed out that neo-colonialism is the 'greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence *or those approaching this status.*' [Own italics: Ed.]

A striking example of the role of the Labour leaders in helping British imperialism to carry through its neo-colonialist policy in relation to countries not yet independent is in relation to the three territories of the Central African Federation. Here one can see neo-colonialism at work in all its aspects, with its slow, evolutionary time-table, designed to give imperialism time to create new obstacles for the independence movements, time to create fresh divisions in the movement, to seek out elements who are prepared to collaborate with imperialism, to soften up some people by letting them taste the fruits of office, to create new economic burdens for emerging governments so as to leave them still dependent on imperialism. Thus the British Government has given no date for Nyasaland's secession from the Federation nor for her independence: no date has been given for a new constitutional conference for Northern Rhodesia, nor has this territory been granted, even in principle, the right to secede from the Federation, nor has any date been set for her independence.

But in the debates on Central Africa in the British Parliament, the Labour front bench speakers refuse to make any challenge to the Tories on these matters. They confine themselves, as a rule, to attacks on Sir Roy Welensky (an obvious target) but fail to expose the more insidious tactics of the British Government. It is not without interest here to recall the famous letter by 'Sandy' to 'My dear T', written on House of Commons paper and reproduced in the *Voice of Africa,* October, 1961. This letter, dated March 17, 1961, was apparently written by a Tory high-up to a friend in Central Africa to explain the British Government's policy towards the Federation, and, in particular, to allay the anxieties of this European settler regarding the purpose behind British policy. The essence of this letter is to explain that the British Government utilises the strident opposition of men like Welensky as a means of persuading the African national leaders that the British Government is offering some really worthwhile concessions, while, in reality, it is holding on to the real sources of power. The letter explains that to get this policy over, the co-operation of the Labour leaders was essential.

The letter says, in part: 'As I've said, at least equal in importance to the problem of selling to the African leaders what is really a settler policy is to sell it to the Labour Party. That one, in fact, involves the other, since most of the African leaders are in contact with the Labour Party leaders and take their opinions to some extent from them.' And the letter then explains that the vocal opposition of Tory *ultras* like Salisbury 'have been very welcome to the Labour leaders in keeping their wild men in order and, more important, in enabling the responsible leaders of the Labour Party to convince their friends among the African leaders that Macleod is really giving them something.'

It was in line with this policy that a year later when the revised proposals of the British Government for the elections in Northern Rhodesia were presented, Dennis Healey, for the Labour Party front bench, went out of his way to stress that the African leaders should accept the new proposals. Needless to say, the Government spokesman warmly thanked Mr. Healey for his co-operation.

In other words, the Labour leaders are an essential link in the whole policy of neo-colonialism. If the Labour Party leaders were to rally their entire party to fight against the imperialist policy of the Tory Government in Africa, to expose each of the Tory manoeuvres and to make a forthright stand for immediate independence for each African territory still under British rule, for the withdrawal of British troops, for an end to the economic robbery of African states whether independent or not, for the winding up of military bases and agreements—in short for a consistent, anti-imperialist policy and the thorough unmasking of the neo-colonialists, then these latter intrigues would stand revealed in their true colours and their policy would fail. But instead, the Labour leaders act as a key factor in the whole policy of neo-colonialism. To their own Party and to the British workers in general, they present a picture of a 'progressive' imperialism in the process of disappearing off the scene of history, 'preparing the people for ultimate independence' and only prevented from going faster by the failure of African parties to come to agreement amongst themselves or by the problem of ensuring that African states can become 'economically viable'. To the African leaders with whom they have contact and some influence they present a similar picture, striving to ensure that Africa 'stays with the West', which means, under present conditions, under imperialist influence.

* * *

Thus, in each stage over the sixty years since imperialism first dominated Africa, the right-wing Labour leaders have faithfully followed in the wake of imperialism. Whether in office or in opposition, they have pursued a policy of maintaining the British Empire (now called the Commonwealth), their only modifications being in method, according to the changed circumstances in which they have found themselves. When outright repression was the main weapon, this was the line followed by both Tory and Labour parties. When 'trusteeship' became the Tory fashion, the Labour leaders parroted the same slogan while continuing the same basic policy of force and violence against the people of Africa. And today, now that neo-colonialism is increasingly becoming the main tactic, the Labour leaders have adjusted themselves to this new phase. But throughout, whatever twists and turns have been forced on imperialism, whatever changes in methods and tactics the imperialists have been forced to adopt, the Labour leaders have remained loyal to imperialism and to its main aim of continuing its economic exploitation of the colonial and former colonial territories. Right-wing labour, in other words, is still the tail of the imperialist dog: it only wags at its master's bidding.

Labour imperialism has not gone unchallenged. Throughout the history of the Labour Party there have been voices raised protesting against the policy of backing imperialism. Within the Labour Party itself the right-wing leaders have usually been able to muffle this voice. But for more than forty years the Communist Party of Great Britain, taking a firm and principled stand on the Marxist-Leninist basis that imperialism is the common enemy of the African people and the British working people, has sought to win the support of the British working class and democratic movement for a policy of support for the struggles of the people of Africa against imperialist oppression and for national independence.

In recent years these efforts have begun to bear fruit. Many sections of the British labour and trade union movement have expressed themselves on such questions as apartheid, the Sharpeville massacre, the 'release Kenyatta' campaign, the various crises in Central Africa and British imperialist support to Tshombe in Katanga. When the Suez crisis broke, the late Hugh Gaitskell, Labour Leader, said in the House of Commons (27th July, 1956): 'On this side of the House we deeply deplore this high-handedness and totally unjustifiable step by the Egyptian Government.' This so-called 'Socialist' even went on to plead on behalf of the owners of the Suez Canal Company, suggesting that in order to ensure that the capitalist shareholders received adequate compensation, the British Government should 'bear in mind the desirability of blocking the sterling balances of the Egyptian Government.' Gaitskell was clearly preparing to back his imperialist masters to the hilt, just as Herbert Morrison and company had done at the time of

Mossadeq's nationalisation of the Iranian Oil Company. Significantly, Gaitskell spoke in the House again on 2nd August supporting the Government's preparations to use force and stating: 'I think that any Government would have to do that, as we had to do it during the Persian crisis.' The reference to Persia was obvious.

But fortunately Gaitskell did not speak for the British working class and trade union movement. The storm in Britain against the Tory Government, and especially after the Anglo-French armed attack was launched against Egypt, was so great that Gaitskell and company, while still making clear their opposition in principle to Nasser's 'high-handedness', were compelled by mass pressure to change their tune and come out in criticism of the British Government's action.

Much work, however, still remains to be done in Britain before the majority of the working class and labour movement understand the nature of imperialism and the common character of the struggle of the British and African peoples against the big monopolies who wax rich on their joint exploitation of both peoples. Useful work is being done by such bodies as the Anti-Apartheid Committee and by the various ad hoc and campaign bodies which spring up on specific issues of colonial oppression or imperialist aggression and which secure support for their activities from sections of the Labour and Trade Union movement. For several years now, patient and consistent work has been carried through by the Movement for Colonial Freedom (M.C.F.) which, through meetings, demonstrations, the issue of leaflets and pamphlets, and the organisation of various protest movements has helped to arouse the conscience of the British Labour Movement. The M.C.F. has won wide support in the British Labour Movement, with national trade union affiliations, representing over three million members, as well as affiliations from over 160 Constituency and local Labour Parties, and sponsorship by 100 Labour M.P.'s. In recent months the M.C.F. has issued hundreds of thousands of leaflets against racial discrimination, as well as educational pamphlets on Neo-Colonialism, on the European Common Market and Colonialism, on colonialism and war, and a folder on the crisis in Southern Rhodesia.

The economic problems now facing Britain, the growing unemployment, the big debate on the European Common Market which embraced wide sections of the working class movement for several months, all this has given rise to new thinking in the movement, to a growing realisation amongst the more politically conscious sections that what is wrong with Britain is the whole basis of her economy, and that the attempt to continue an economy based on the exploitation of Africa and other developing regions bears heavily on the people of Britain as well as on the people of the newly independent states.

This growing understanding will help to increase the solidarity of the British working class with the struggles of the African people and will eventually defeat the policy of 'labour imperialism.'

March 7, 1963

This article, tracing the history and growth of the workers' movement in Northern Rhodesia, is an extract from a booklet written by Mr. Joseph W. Musole which is being prepared for publication at a later date. Mr. Musole is a refugee from the Central African Federation. In the introduction to his booklet, which covers a much wider field of Northern Rhodesian life than the extracts published here, Mr. Musole explains that, in his present condition of exile, not all the data he would wish has been available.

'The material in this pamphlet,' he says, 'has been written with least reference to books in many cases, for these were not available at the time of writing. To be on the safer side, in many cases I have generalised facts, and where I could get books I have checked up my facts with them.'

The booklet is dedicated to 'those brave lads Cresta Ngebe, Paikani Phiri, Chanda John and Robinson Kamina'. It is dated August 1962.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN ZAMBIA

JOSEPH W. MUSOLE

IN NORTHERN RHODESIA, workers' movements particularly in the mining industry on the Copperbelt and elsewhere have contributed much towards class consciousness. The workers have proved by carrying out determined struggles against the capitalists that they are a powerful force capable of liberating the entire country from the yoke of capitalist slavery. . . .

I have chosen to trace the struggles of the workers' movement in Northern Rhodesia under six periods.

1923 — 1935

From 1923, when the formation of some mining companies in Northern Rhodesia started, to 1935 when the capitalists were first greeted with the shock of a workers' strike, the African labour movement was unorganised, and did not present a great danger to the capitalists. The workers were regarded as primitive, ignorant people, with primitive requirements. They were cheated: they were exploited by their employers: sometimes they were beaten up: they were tossed here and there. White men had workers of slave type in whatever numbers they wished: these ranged from personal servants to latrine cleaners, from clerks in offices to underground miners, from District Commissioner's carriers to slaves who carried them in hammocks on their tours of the districts. . . .

It was an age in which a dog received better treatment than a black man. The government, on its part, did not bother to pass legislation to regulate labour conditions and to control exploitation. The main characteristic of this period is that the Africans submitted to all their sufferings patiently. Until 1935, when the Government became stupid enough to raise the poll tax from 12/6d to 15/-, without employers raising the workers' wages.

The African miners went on strike, which the government thought fit to quell by shooting down six strikers and wounding twenty-two more.

1936 — 1940

After the experiences of the 1935, the workers were at last awakening to proletarian consciousness. The 1935 strike gave them the impetus to unite in collective action for better living conditions, higher rates of pay and better housing and conditions of work:

In these four years the workers were brooding over the bad conditions of living. They were now conscious of the fact that they formed a class of permanent wage earners, and they began to wonder why better conditions were being deliberately withheld from them, while white employees enjoyed good living, housing and working conditions. When the white employees were on strike, their grievances were being redressed to their advantage. But the poor black workers who had only asked for higher wages, better housing and proper sanitation in their compounds—as modest a claim as that!—were not even being met half-way.

After these demands had been rejected by the employers, the African miners called for a strike in March 1940. The workers' action was met with ruthless resistance by the employers, and—as is usual in Rhodesia—the government was called in to kill 17 while wounding 69 workers.

But the strike was successful, as there were later improvements in wage and welfare standards. Even though the managements would not agree to recognise African workers' trade unions, they nevertheless set up tribal and boss-boy committees to discuss welfare and employment conditions.

1941 — 1949

These committees were devised by the managements in order to run away from any recognition of the African workers' trade unions. The Forster Commission of 1940, which had been appointed to investigate the causes of the strike, endorsed their fears, when it reported:

> 'For trade unionism, as trade unionism is generally understood by the British worker, the African worker in Northern Rhodesia is clearly not ready. It is nonetheless necessary that some scheme should be devised to make articulate mass grievances and to ensure that such grievances are properly brought to the notice of the management.'

The African workers worked hard for the removal of these committees, which only lasted for a short time. And in 1949 the mining companies recognised four African trade unions. Despite this recognition, the capitalists had no intention of permitting the trade unions a free hand. The government have made impossible laws against the movement, well realising that the laws they make for Rhodesia could never be tolerated in Europe: they have gone to the extent of forbidding by law that workers should strike for political reasons: they have of late employed spies to keep watch on the activities of African trade unions, including the so-called 'Co-operative Officers' with their African assistants, who audit and fidget about with the affairs of trade unions, and are specially employed to check on 'external sources of finance' for the African trade union movement, and also on its 'external affiliations'.

1950 — 1952

The period 1950-1952 was a decisive one for the workers. They had attained such a strength of organisation that they were able to show all concerned that they were a force to be reckoned with. Clearly their enemies became wild with hate of the African trade union movement. At the end of the 1952 strike, the copper mining companies wrote:

> 'It cannot be denied that this strike has caused feelings of uneasiness about the future. . . . This is not trade unionism or collective bargaining in the accepted sense of the terms, and the dangers inherent in this racial approach to employment problems are obvious. One now

> begins to see the virtue of Southern Rhodesia's policy of not officially recognising African trade unions until they are truly representative bodies, created and controlled by the workers themselves.'

During this period the membership of African workers' trade unions reached 28,000. In the latter part of the period, the workers won great increases in their wages, they began to get 'cost-of-living' allowances, a copper bonus system was offered to them, and payments in kind were replaced by payments in cash.

In 1952 the African miners waged a strike which set the capitalists panicking. It was so well organised and disciplined that despite many provocations by the bosses and government agents, no blood was shed. The miners demanded wage increases, for the capitalists had been making tremendous profits and paying out large sums in dividends abroad. Some 39,000 African miners took part in the strike, which lasted three weeks. At the end of the strike, the lowest-paid miners won 1/2d per shift, while the highest-paid won 1/8d per shift. These increases cost the exploiters an ' . . . extra wage bill of £750,000 per year'. The spirit of proletarians burnt high, and the experience gained in the strike was of vital importance for future actions.

1953 — 1956

The great victory won by the miners in the 1952 struggle had an effect on various other employment agencies in Rhodesia. In addition, the strikers had co-operated with the chiefs and the rural population and ' . . . made arrangements with the rural areas to send in food free, if required. . . . The Union was able to obtain the support of the tribal chiefs.' This was a landmark in the class consciousness of the workers.

In 1953, the 'tribal elders' system of representation had been finally abolished when the miners voted against its existence. The period was characterised by a growing solidarity of the workers, irrespective of where they came from. The employers, shaken by this solidarity, called in the Moral Rearmament movement to dilute the militant African workers' trade union movement: they formed an African Salaried Staff Association to split the movement and drive a wedge into the miners' organisation.

Nevertheless, throughout 1954 the workers continued to agitate for higher wages and better service conditions, and in that year the Africans miners won holidays with pay and an old age pension scheme. When the African General Workers' Union came out on strike, the African miners' union, Nchanga Branch, also struck in solidarity. This was a remarkable revelation of proletarian consciousness, for at no time in the history of our labour movement had workers ever waged a solidarity strike!

Events in 1954 clearly indicated that the workers' patience was running out. Miners demanded a basic wage of 10/8d per shift, which the management rejected outright. A strike was called for 1st January, 1955, and over 95% of the workers responded to the call. In terms of the 'Maintenance of Essential Services Law', the Union ordered two thousand workers to maintain 'essential services'—a manoeuvre by the imperialists to force the united workers to provide aid to the employers against themselves.

However, the strike went on. The workers were intimidated and provoked by the authorities in every way possible. The 'Mobile Unit' was called to patrol the mines from Bwana Mkubwa: the settlers were called in to co-operate as 'police reservists': the police and Special Branch became very active: the exploiters organised systems of control over shops in African compounds with the aim of starving the workers. At the end of three weeks of the strike the bosses issued an ultimatum to the strikers to return to their jobs or face dismissal and eviction from their houses. But the workers remained stubborn, united and organised. The struggle went on for 58 days: and at the end, concessions in the form of 'cost-of-living allowances' and copper bonuses were granted by the employers.

After the strike, the employers wished to strengthen the African Salaried Staff Association they had set up in 1953. They recognised this 'Association' and made several concessions to it in the form of advanced jobs, and at the same time gave six months' notice of termination of the agreement between the companies and the African Mine Workers' Union.

The African miners resisted. In 1956 there broke out a wave of strikes which were well planned. They were waged for short intervals of three to five days on all mines. From the month of July they went on until the beginning of September 1956. They were well-disciplined strikes, waged against the attempt to build up the Salaried Staff Association in order to break up the Union.

The Government was very restless about these strikes, and at midnight on the 11th September the Acting Governor declared a 'State of Emergency'. Leaders of the African mine workers and some leaders of the African National Congress were rounded up and 'rusticated', that is, exiled to the remote country areas. In the period July to September, sixteen strikes had been organised.

The characteristics of this period are that during it the African

Mine Workers' Union achieved international recognition by the world trade union movement. During the strikes, substantial donations were made to the Union from abroad: the South Wales Area Council of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers, the South Area Council and National Executive Committee each donated £1,000. Many other British trade unions collected money and sent messages of solidarity.

But these strikes ended in the signing of an agreement which kept the wages of the lowest-paid workers at a standstill. Lawrence Chola Katilungu, President of the African Mine Workers' Union, who had been in Southern Rhodesia at the time, came back to Northern Rhodesia to co-operate with the government to end the strikes.

1957 — 1960

This period is very important. It was in this period that the workers saw the importance of interlocking politics with economic struggles. As early as 1951, when Federation was being discussed in the three central African territories, trade unions in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia had declared their firm opposition, and their readiness to struggle with the whole people against the implementation of the Federal scheme. Although the spirit of political action had arisen at that time, no actual affiliation of a trade union to a political movement had yet occurred.

There are several reasons for this. But a major one is that Lawrence Katilungu, the President of the Trade Union Congress, was in the grip of the imperialists, who made him a complete block in the way of trade union progress. Another reason is that the capitalists in co-operation with the government made certain laws which hindered the blending of the trade union ideals with political action. Another, which I regard as perhaps the most important, is that neither trade unionists nor African politicians had yet experienced political activity on a large scale. This experience only came in 1958 with the birth of and the banning of the peoples' liberation movement, the Zambia African National Congress. This organisation instilled in the minds of the workers and the people generally that action was essential for the liberation of the masses. The spirit of Zambia was quickly taken up by trade union organisations, which became dynamic and immediately affiliated themselves to the mass movement—U.N.I.P., the successor to the Zambia National Congress.

The point which indicates beyond doubt that the workers' movement could not subsist effectively without political impetus was the part played by the African National Congress in the wave of strikes which occurred in 1956. The writer recalls from experience as the Vice-Chairman of the Luanshya District Executive of the A.N.C., that in 1956, in the majority of cases, the leaders of district executives of the A.N.C. were also leaders of the Trade Union Councils. The exploiters also realised this fact, and complained about it later.

Thus 1957 to 1960 saw the interlocking of trade unionism with active politics. Campaigns to oust Lawrence Katilungu, a stooge of the imperialists, were intensified, and finally the trade union movement was affiliated to the mass political movement of Northern Rhodesia.

MARXISM — LENINISM THEORY AND PRACTICE (1)

What is Communism?

With this article the AFRICAN COMMUNIST begins a new educational series on 'Marxism-Leninism, Theory and Practice'. These articles will appear regularly in the future, and will be suitable, we believe, for study and discussion circles. We shall appreciate comment from such circles, and from individual readers, on the usefulness of the articles and suggestions as to future contents.

COMMUNISM, THEY SAY, is something no African should have anything to do with. But if Communism is an enemy of the Africans, we should at least get to know what it is.

The funny thing about our kind friends who tell us Communism is our enemy is that they don't want us to know what it is. They try to prevent us from reading anything about it: they don't like us to visit Communist countries to see for ourselves.

Well, let us see what Communists are and what they are not.

What Communists are Not

Communists are not the people who came from their own countries and conquered so much of Africa, who took millions of Africans out of Africa to work as slaves in America and the West Indies, and who robbed the land and made Africans work for them on plantations and in mines for miserable wages.

Communists are not the people who for so long have robbed Africa of its natural wealth—the copper, gold, diamonds, tin, the timber, palm oil and other produce which could have made Africa a rich country.

Communists are not the people who set up foreign governments to rule over African countries, who refused democracy to Africans, who imposed taxation and pass laws to compel Africans to work for them.

No, these people were not Communists. As every African knows, they were the imperialists.

Who Then are the Communists?

Communists are those who say that Africans should not be content with imperialist robbery and industrial backwardness, and that they should join together to put an end to poverty and backwardness and to win a better life.

Communists say that it is wrong for anyone to live on the labour of other people just because he is rich and has bought or robbed some mine or factory. They say that the mines and the factories should be taken over by the people of each country, and used to benefit the whole people, instead of being used to make profit for a small class of rich persons.

Communists say that this would very soon put an end to poverty and injustice, and make it possible for the people of every country to enjoy a better life.

It would put an end to imperialism, give the people full power in their own countries, and help them to build up their countries as modern industrial States. It would put an end to imperialist wars, and bring peace and brotherhood to all the peoples of the world.

That is why the imperialists do not like Communism and try to prevent Africans from knowing what it really is.

The Socialist Countries

In some countries, such as the Soviet Union (Russia), the people, led by the Communists, defeated the imperialists and their own capitalists and big landowners, and set up their own governments. All the country's industries and land are being used for the benefit of the people. They have built new modern factories, to make everything the people need for a better life. The farmers have built up great co-operative farms, using machinery and modern methods so that they can produce more and live better. Education has been brought to every part of the country, so that everyone can benefit. The health service is the best in the world.

How has all this been done? Because the Communists led the people to put an end to capitalism and build up socialism, in which all the country's wealth belongs to the people and is used for their benefit. That is why, in the socialist countries, more goods and more food are produced each year, so that life gets better each year, and there is no poverty or unemployment.

As Comrade Khrushchov says:

> 'The socialist system creates all the conditions enabling any people to straighten its back and become a veritable giant. Now the peoples of the world are beginning to understand more and more that the truest way to happiness and prosperity is the way of socialism, of communism.'

Besides the Soviet Union, there is the People's Republic of China, where the people took power in 1949, after defeating the United States stooge Chiang Kai-shek. They are quickly changing their backward country into a modern industrial State.

Then there are other socialist countries in Europe, such as Poland and Czechoslovakia: in Asia, such as North Korea and North Vietnam: and even in America there is the socialist country, Cuba. The Cuban people have been able to defend their country against the United States imperialists, and are building up socialism.

One-third of all the people in the world have now freed themselves from imperialism and are building up socialism in their countries. It will not be many years before the whole world does the same. The socialist countries, led by their Communist Parties, are showing the way forward for all mankind, and are helping other peoples to stand on their own feet.

The Communist Movement

There are now over forty million members of Communist parties in all countries.

In the socialist countries, they are leading the people in building up their country in the interests of the whole people. In the Soviet Union, they are going forward to a higher stage, a fully Communist society of abundance for everyone.

In the capitalist or imperialist countries, the Communist Parties are showing the working people the evils of capitalism and imperialism, and how much better life would be under socialism. They are helping to organise the people to resist the capitalist attempts to reduce wages and to increase prices and rents. They are helping to unite the people against their Government's waste of money on arms, the heavy taxation, and the refusal to spend more money on housing, schools and hospitals. They are helping to unite the people in the struggle for a better life under socialism, and for peace and friendship between all nations.

In some capitalist countries the Communist Parties are able to work openly, with their own papers and public meetings. In other countries the Communists are not allowed to work openly, but they carry on their work in spite of arrests and imprisonment, because they know the people back them up.

In former colonial countries which have won their political independence, Communists are working to help to build up industry and agriculture to serve the needs of the people and make the country entirely independent of the imperialists. They try to strengthen the organisations and influence of the working people, especially the industrial workers, because a strong working class with a Marxist outlook is the best guarantee that the country will not be held back by the imperialists and their friends, and that the conditions of the people are improved.

In countries which are still under colonial rule, and where the first step forward must be to win political independence, the Communists work to strengthen the united struggle of the people against injustice and for democratic rights, because this is the way forward to independence and a better life.

A Party that represents the interests of the working people, and not the interests of the rich, is needed in every country.

The Theory of Communism

The theory of Communism was worked out by Marx a hundred years ago. He was a great thinker and teacher, who studied the history of mankind's struggle for a better life and showed why capitalism must be ended and socialism take its place. That is why the ideas of Communism are also known as Marxism.

Marx showed that mankind could only live by producing the food and clothes and other things that people need. The great majority of mankind has always had to work to produce what was needed: but there is also a small class of persons who do no work—they live on the labour of other people. In our time the most important of those who live on other people's labour are the rich capitalist owners of the factories and mines, the banks and trading companies.

The capitalists hire workers to produce things on the land, in the mines and factories. The labour of these workers produces things which are of greater value than the wages they are paid, and the capitalists rob them of the difference. That is how the capitalists get their profit.

The capitalists are always making profit and starting more factories and mines, while they keep wages as low as they can. So more things get produced than the people can buy, and the capitalists close some of their factories and mines until the surplus gets used up. This is called an economic crisis, during which many workers are unemployed, and the capitalists reduce the prices they pay for produce bought from farmers, causing hardship and poverty especially in African countries.

As long as capitalism lasts, there will be economic crises every few years, because things are produced for profit and not for the needs of the people. It is only when the means of production—the land, factories, mines and other things needed to produce what the people want—are owned by the people and not by rich capitalists, that things will be produced not for the profit of a few but for the use of the whole people.

In times when the capitalist profit-making system was beginning in Europe, the capitalists were not very big people. But they piled up profit year after year, and the richer capitalists bought up the smaller capitalists or made them bankrupt. So today, instead of small family businesses, there are big companies which own very big factories and control whole industries. These big companies are called monopolies, and they have spread all over the world (except in the socialist countries), making profit out of the labour of Africans, Americans, Asians and Australians as well as Europeans.

The monopolies and their banks are linked with their Governments. That is why their Governments carried out colonial wars to conquer colonies where the imperialist monopolies could make more profit, and set up colonial governments to rule the countries in the interests of the monopolies. Today, when the liberation movement of the peoples is so strong, the imperialist Governments try to crush the movement by force, or if they have to give way, they try to make sure that when a country has won independence, the monopolies are still able to continue robbing the people.

In a capitalist country the workers always have to struggle for better pay and conditions. Their struggle is made more difficult because the Government is the capitalists' government and always sides with the capitalists, using police, law-courts and prisons against the working people.

That is why it is not enough for the working people, in any country controlled by the capitalists, to struggle for higher wages. They must also struggle for democratic rights, so that they can resist injustice and get a Government which really represents their interests.

Experience has shown that the imperialists always resist the people's struggle for democracy and for a Government that really represents their interests. Where they resist it by force (as the Tsar did in Russia or the French imperialists did in Algeria) the only way forward for the people is armed struggle. But the stronger the people are, the more united they are in the struggle for democracy, the sooner the imperialists can be forced to give way.

So whatever form of struggle may turn out in the end to be necessary, it is only through organisation, unity and struggle, under the leadership of a political party which is working for independence and socialism, that the people can be sure of winning victory.

Socialism for Africa

The people of each country can only make real progress when they have won independence, and are able to set up their own government, free from any imperialist influence.

But their government must also be free from the influence of any rich property owners or capitalists, and must work in the interests of the whole people if it is really to lead the country forward.

Therefore it must be a democratic government, supported by the great majority of the people and by a political party that has the trust of the people and aims to help them forward to socialism.

Under the rule of the imperialists, the country's wealth was of little benefit to the people. Imperialist companies owned the mines and factories, and sent most of what was produced to the imperialist countries. In some African countries the imperialists robbed the best land, or bought the farmers' produce at low prices to sell at big profit abroad. The result of imperialist rule, with low wages for workers and low prices for farmers, has been that the country's wealth has been taken by the imperialists, leaving the people with little to live on, poor health services and little education.

In order to make sure of real independence, and prepare the way for socialism, all this must be changed.

Building up Industry

The most important thing for an ex-colony which has won its political independence is to build up its own industry. This is necessary in order to make what the people need, and not to have to depend on high priced imports of the clothes and food, the machinery and transport, and everything else that a modern country must have.

For example, under imperialist rule cotton grown in some colonies was exported to the imperialist countries, worked up there, and then sent back in the form of cloth or clothing and sold at high prices to the people who grew the cotton, giving big profits to the imperialists.

If the raw cotton was worked up in the country which grew it, the cost would be much less. So the building of cotton spinning and weaving factories is a step forward in raising the living standards of the people.

Therefore when a country wins independence, its government has to plan to develop the industries that are needed as quickly as possible.

How can it find the money to do this?

Partly by taxation, especially of the imperialist companies that are making big profits out of the labour of Africans. But the people also will have to help, because the quicker the new industries are built up, the sooner will the people have a better life.

The government may also be able to get some loans from imperialist governments or banks, though it will have to make sure that it does not pay too much for the loans, and that it does not accept any political interference from the imperialists because of the loans.

Some imperialist companies may also be willing to start new industries in the country, and this can help to bring the country forward: but the government must lay down the terms on which it allows a foreign company to do this. The most important point is to insist that after some years the new factories become the property of the people.

Where imperialist companies are already running a factory or mine, or other business, at the time when the country wins independence, it may be possible for the government to buy them out at the start, or over a period of years. This has already been done in some countries that have won their independence.

Although it will take time, the aim of an independent government must be to build up a national industry owned by the people, in order to end imperialist robbery and make the country entirely independent of the imperialists.

This is why the greatest help that any African country will get in developing its industry and farming will come from the socialist countries. Their terms for loans are low, and if they help the country to build a factory they do not want to own it and get profits from it, but hand it over to the government. The aim of the socialist countries is to help under-developed countries to stand on their own feet.

Besides planning to develop a national industry, an independent African government will also need to set up its own banking and trading organisations, and to control imports and exports, so that the imperialists will not be able to do as they like.

Farming

Conditions are different in different African countries, so the government of each country will have to consider how best to improve the position of the farmers, and at the same time to produce more food for the people in the towns and raw materials for the new industries.

The aim must be to get more production from the land in order to raise the standard of living of the farmers and of the whole people. New crops will be wanted, including especially food crops to meet the needs of the people, instead of depending on cash-crops for export and having to import foodstuffs that could be grown in the country.

Land which has been taken by foreign settlers and plantation companies should be handed back to the people.

The people in many African countries are fortunate in having a tradition of common ownership of land, because this makes it easier for them to carry forward this principle to higher forms of co-operative modern farming. Government model farms and co-operative farming as well as help to individual farmers, can very quickly bring about a big increase in production. Irrigation, fertilisers, machinery, and new methods of farming will also be needed, and people will have to be trained to use modern methods.

Education and Training

The educational backwardness for which imperialist rule has been responsible must be ended as quickly as possible.

Primary education for everyone, and secondary, technical and university education for more and more young people every year, is one of the most urgent needs. The building up of a national industry will help to train skilled workers of all kinds.

The problem of increasing the number of teachers and trainers is a big one and it will take time, but with help from friendly countries big progress can be made in a few years.

Democracy

When an imperialist government rules a country, there is no democracy for the people. They have no chance to decide what should be done, and what the government does is for the benefit of the imperialists.

But when a country wins political independence, and is able to set up its own government, the people are in a better position to decide what should be done, and to take part in elections so that they can get a government which will help them to build up their country in the interests of the whole people.

In some of the African countries which have won their independence, the people have such a government. This is because the movement for national liberation was led by parties and people with a Marxist outlook, who fought for independence not to benefit themselves or the rich, but in order to raise the standard of living of the people and make their countries into modern industrially developed States.

But in other independent African countries this is not the position. The parties and the leaders that now form the government represent the interests of the rich and not the interests of the people. Some of them are still under the influence of the imperialists, and are not working to end the robbery of the people by the imperialists. In such countries the people cannot be satisfied until they get a government they can trust.

Democracy is not only voting in an election, and then leaving it to the elected persons to do as they like. It may be that the candidate who is elected is rich or has rich friends who can make people vote for him, though he may be no good for the people. It may be that the candidate will serve the rich rather than the people, though he may make good speeches. If a lot of such people are elected then the government set up after an election may be no good for the people.

That is why a political party with a Marxist outlook is necessary, a party that represents the interests of working people and not the interests of the rich. Such a party must draw its members from the working class, the farmers, and all those who want to see their country develop for the benefit of the whole people.

Such a party will help to organise the trade unions and other organisations of working people to improve conditions, and to fight against injustice and robbery by the imperialists or the rich. It will show what needs to be done in order to develop the country's resources for the benefit of the people. When such a political party puts forward its candidates in elections, the people will know that these candidates can be trusted, and when the party has won the

support of most of the people, then an election can bring a government which really serves the people.

Real democracy is not only giving the people a chance to vote, but the people being organised and strong enough to fight against robbery and injustice, and to win better conditions and a better life. That is why a party with a Marxist outlook, which helps the people to organise and carry on a political struggle for a government that works in their interests, is the best guarantee of democracy.

* * *

We see, therefore, that Communism is not an enemy of the African people, but a friend.

Mankind has made great progress, and it is not right that any people should be kept back from sharing in this progress as the imperialists are trying to keep back the African people.

The way forward for Africa is independence and socialism, and this is what Communists work for in Africa, as they are working for it in their own countries all over the world.

A united socialist Africa, taking her place among the most advanced countries in the world, will be a great force for peace, brotherhood and co-operation between the peoples, and will make her own contribution to the future progress of all mankind.

From our Readers

'Your paper has been a friend to my staff and friends of the Pan-Africanist Youth of Nigeria. . . . Through its pages we have come to learn more about Marxism-Leninism and the South African people, our brothers. Many pages were printed out and sent to our branches: it has been a source of delight to all of us. . . .' These heartening words are from a Nigerian reader, who also sent with his letter, the following contribution, printed here in full:

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—OUR ONLY HOPE IN NIGERIA

by

ADO GWADABE

General Secretary, Pan Africanist Youth of Nigeria

The aim of all progressive elements in Nigeria is always to try to find solutions to our many problems: how to live better and break the barrier of the unknown. The ultimate goal is to find answers to questions surrounding our entire existence. The future of Nigeria depends on the outcome of the competition taking place in Nigeria of to-day between two social systems—Socialism and capitalism.

Under capitalism in which we live, at present, exploitation of man by man is the rule rather than the exception: oppression of the working class and peasantry by the national bourgeoisie is the order. We find imperialism and neo-colonialism firmly entrenched in our country, we find the national sovereignty made exclusive for the bourgeois class and feudal chiefs: we stare at mass illiteracy, poverty and hunger: and with our eyes wide open, we find undemocratic rule, we find fundamental human rights have been destroyed, unemployment is nationwide and our economy is stagnant.

Victory in this contest will go to the social system that provides men and women with the greatest material and spiritual advantages, creates real conditions for the full development of the human personality and establishes a real Kingdom of Life. Science under socialism enjoys credit greater than anything else in the world. To go forward without science is the same as for a blind man to go forward without a guide. Science is a compass. To organise people and advance by this compass—that is the road to victory.

The only way now to end for all time the oppression of ruling cliques is to bury capitalist democracy and instal people's democracy. The way to abolish imperialism is for a transition to socialism which means truly national industries must be built up. All patriotic Nigerians must have their consciences shaken to their very foundations to see that our hard-won independence has become a merely nominal one for puppet rulers: the honour and freedom of our country are being sold at dollar price: the colonial pattern of existence remains unaltered: our country is a pawn in a global chess game of international politics.

I have no sympathy for capitalism because capitalists have been the bane of our progress. We should experiment with a system which will suit our own peculiar situation, so that we can conquer hunger, poverty and give education to the masses and end oppression by minority people and neo-colonialists. All progressive elements in Nigeria must dedicate themselves to the complete emancipation of our country to the ideals of scientific socialism.

I do not therefore seek to copy the methods by which other countries have achieved socialism within their own states. Indeed the path to socialism followed by many countries has not been one worked out with a pre-conceived plan. It should be our object to study so as to profit by the experience of others and to avoid the mistakes and errors which were, perhaps, inevitable in the particular circumstances of the time, but which need not be repeated.

FROM DR. DU BOIS AND MANY OTHERS

We publish, in this issue, a number of brief extracts from messages received by THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST from many parts of the world.

From Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, P.O. Box 2797, *Accra, Ghana.*
I have just returned to Accra and have your letter. . . . I thank you very much for your kind words. We are working slowly on the Encyclopedia Africana, producing plans and articles. It will of

course be many years before we can actually get it into print on an organised scale. I wish to think you again for your kind words.

B. M. A. Abasi, N. Nigeria

I sold these magazines with less effort. I am not deducting commission. What I want is not commission but recognition as one of your agents in Nigeria and an ardent youth with strong inclinations for Communism. Please send me more literature. I am sure our further contact will enhance the already existing bond of friendship even more.

*A Bechuanaland Reader**

Unfortunately the imperialists and their agents combined forces against me and as I was then teaching they sent me into exile, under the pretext of transfer. . . . Please try and help me with some reading matter. . . . Good wishes for the success of the liberatory movement. . . .

A Student from Senegal (now studying in the German Democratic Republic):

Let me congratulate the staff of THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST. I specially want to congratulate Comrade Jalang Kwena for his deep and brilliant analysis in *Africa Looks at the Common Market,* and also Comrade N. Numade for his article *The Working Class and the African Revolution.* The contribution of THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST to the struggle of Africa against imperialism and for socialism is high, very high. THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST goes to the very problems, analyses them objectively, and explains to our masses and suffering people the 'WHY' of their suffering, and in so doing exposes in a simple and understandable way all the lies and mystifications which are used by the imperialists and their African stooges and traitors.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in all its articles shows our people that imperialism does not sympathise, never sympathised and never will sympathise with them, that it smothers and stabs any attempt to get rid of it. And this the masses understand because it is true. Your initiative to publish a French edition is a further important step, and I am sure the whole of Africa will soon read THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST.

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* This reader appeals for 'all types of political books and law books, as well as periodicals and pamphlets from all parts of the world to build up a library for himself and his friends. If readers would care to assist him, we shall be prepared to send on material of this kind addressed to our London agent—Editor, A.C.

It will be an honour and a pleasure for me to help you. . . . With my best greetings. . . .

A Socialist of Northern Rhodesia, now in Tanganyika:
I always look forward to receiving THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST and other interesting material you send me. Congratulations on the successful holding of the Conference of the South African Communist Party.

Herbert Schneider, Berlin:
I was very glad to get THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST. It helps me to an extraordinary degree to be informed about modern Africa and to form my opinion on African problems, to receive a journal discussing these problems from a Marxist point of view, and edited by authors who themselves take part in the struggles of their people. I also find invaluable scientific surveys such as that on the effects of colonialism on Africa by such an outstanding author as Suret-Canale. Last, but not least, it is a proud feeling to see how Communists also in Africa, especially in South Africa and under hard conditions, stand firm and struggle against colonialism and imperialism and show the way to the future. . . . I wish you and THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST all success.

The Rev. T. N. Bush (now in Wales):
I am renewing my subscription to your most valuable journal. THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST has a unique role to play in the freedom struggle in our country and our continent. We in South Africa can by-pass the mistakes made elsewhere, by following Marxist-Leninist principles. . . . In this way we shall not fall into the trap of narrow chauvinism or the dangers of personality cults . . . errors which are being exploited by the neo-colonialists to retain their stranglehold on the economies of many independent African states. . . . I am more than ready to make a worthwhile contribution to the victory of our just struggle to establish true democracy in Southern Africa.

Other messages of greetings and goodwill have been received recently from Tanganyika, N. and S. Rhodesia, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Poland, Canada, Czechoslovakia (an African student), Kenya, British Guiana ('*your publication will be very helpful to us in order* *to keep abreast of world opinion of contemporary problems of society*'), California, U.S.A. ('*We find your magazine to be most helpful in analysing those forces which are today building a new Africa, free from the dual threats of imperialism and capitalism. . . . Wishing you the best in your endeavours . . .*').

ALWAYS DELIGHTED

We of 'The African Communist' are always delighted to receive letters from our readers, both on the continent of Africa and elsewhere in the world. Whether these letters appear in this column of our magazine or not they never fail to renew our energies and inspire us to further efforts.

We shall always try to publish as many of these letters as possible. By the way, it will be a help if writers who intend letters for publication will advise whether their names are to be printed or not.

So, dear readers, keep on writing to us!

CORRECTION

In the last issue of THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST (Vol. II, No. 2), we reported a letter from a Rhodesian socialist group to the effect that one of its members was serving a prison sentence of two years in connection with the group's activities. The leader of the group now writes to explain that his information was incorrect: "this misinformation was the work of our enemies who reported it to me with the intention of misleading us".

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